The American
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COMMUNIST PARTIES IN CRISIS

MAY 1956

25 CENTS

The Coming Showdown For Jim Crow

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GARMENT CENTER LABOR RALLY
TO PROTEST
MURDER OF EMMETT TILL
RACIST TERROR IN MISSISSIPPI
TUESDAY OCT. 11th 12 Noon

Skilled Trades' Revolt in Auto

Special Report from Michigan on the Union Crisis

CLIPPINGS

NEW YORK AFL and CIO central labor bodies called on their affiliates to give generous financial backing to the Republic Aircraft strikers who have been out since February 19. The auto union recently donated $10,000 to the strike. The picketers are receiving $10 weekly from their organization, the International Association of Machinists. The IAM and CIO auto union are settling with most aircraft companies on an 11-cent hourly wage increase with considerable added fringe benefits. . . . "The Battle of the Beach" to organize Miami's swank hotels has entered its second year. The union has thus far signed up 9 hotels, and the local claims 5,000 members, to become the largest local union in Florida. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers are currently striking 23 hotels with "invisible picket lines"—the only kind the Florida courts are permitting them. They still have a long way to go before unionism is firmly established in the Miami hotel field.

SOUTHERN Bourbons are building up a fierce public opinion against any and all liberalism on the Negro issue. The deadliness of the atmosphere is gauged when writers like William Faulkner fold up. Now *Business Week*, which is often quite reliable on these matters, prints in its April 14 issue a long account of how Southern labor unions are succumbing to the pressure: "AFL-CIO's drive to unionize the South is virtually stalled. . . . There are widely reported calls for Southern workers to secede from AFL-CIO and form their own, all-white Southern labor federation. . . . In Southern locals that are already fully or partly integrated, relations between white and Negro workers have worsened sharply. . . . The race issue gives employers who want to fight unionism a potent weapon. . . . Generally, AFL-CIO isn't organizing now in the South, but this is as much due to jurisdictional squabbles among textile, paper, wood, and other unions as to race tension. . . ."

Vol. I, No. I of *The New Southerner* has just come out. It is the new eight-page monthly tabloid newspaper issued by Don West, after the witch-hunters managed to get him fired from *The Southerner*, at Dalton, Georgia, which he edited on behalf of its sponsoring organization, Church of God of the Union Assembly. The new paper is published in Montgomery, Alabama, and its lead editorial is headed, "It All Boils Down to Civil Rights." Don West has the good wishes of many progressive people who are rooting for the success of the new publication.

THE U.S. Supreme Court made three momentous decisions this past month in the field of civil liberties; in one, it dealt a bad blow to rights under the Fifth Amendment; in the other two, it repelled the encroachments of the witch-hunt. Thus does the shuttle move to and fro. In the Ullmann case the court upheld the constitutionality of the Immunity Act of 1954 under which a person can be forced to give testimony in matters which are declared to concern national security in exchange for a so-called grant of immunity from criminal prosecution.

In the Nelson case the court held that national security is primarily under Federal jurisdiction, and consequently ruled a Pennsylvania sedition statute invalid because it was superseded by the Smith Act and other Federal laws. Steve Nelson, a Communist Party leader, sentenced Jan. 30, 1952 to twenty years in jail, fined $10,000, and assessed an additional $13,000 in costs of prosecution, is thus freed under this charge. He is not out of the woods, however, as he was later convicted in Federal court of violating the Smith Act, and sentenced to five years imprisonment. He is at present at liberty pending an appeal.

Forty-one states plus Hawaii and Alaska have sedition laws similar to Pennsylvania's on their statute books. J. M. Ferguson, Kentucky Attorney General, announced that he would continue efforts to put Carl Braden in jail. Braden has an appeal to the Kentucky Court of Appeals from his 15-year sentence and $5,000 fine under the state's sedition law. But in Michigan, Attorney General Thomas Kavanaugh ruled that the Trucks Law passed about four years ago was automatically annulled by the Supreme Court decision.

Finally, in the third decision, involving the case of Professor Slochower of Brooklyn College, who was fired because he pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a Senatorial investigating committee, the court softened the effects of its first decision a little by holding public employees have the right to "due process." Naturally, there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip in this kind of matter. Professor Slochower hasn't got his job back yet, and how soon he will get it is a bit uncertain as Dr. Gideonse, the College president, promptly announced that he will rehire Slochower, and then promptly fire him all over again on different grounds.

EARLIER in the week, the American Association of University Professors, meeting in St. Louis, voted in a stormy session to censure five universities and a medical college for dismissing professors in violation of academic freedom. In each case the schools dismissed faculty members who had invoked the Fifth Amendment before congressional committees or refused to take loyalty oaths.

In New Hampshire the state Supreme Court ruled against Paul Sweezy in the case arising from his refusal to answer questions before a state investigating committee regarding a lecture he had delivered on socialism at the University of New Hampshire. *Monthly Review*, of which Sweezy is one of the editors, announced that the case is now being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, "and the court's decision may well have fateful consequences for academic freedom in this country."

James Kutcher, the legless veteran, won an important round in his eight-year fight to get his $42-a-week clerk's job back at the Newark Veterans Administration. The Federal Court of Appeals ruled that his membership in the Socialist Workers Party did not constitute a valid reason for dismissal. What step the government now intends to take has still not been announced.

Support is growing in Britain for the Sobell case with the publication of two hard-hitting letters by Lord Bertrand Russell in the *Manchester Guardian*. The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell has just issued an excellent 44-page pamphlet, "Prisoner on Our Conscience" by Emily and David Alman, which gives a clear running account of the main facts of the case and the nature of the frameup against Sobell. The committee is also sponsoring a protest mass meeting at Carnegie Hall in New York on May 15.

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CONTENTS

THE COMING SHOWDOWN FOR JIM CROW 3
COMMUNIST PARTIES IN CRISIS 7
A DECADE OF COLD WAR by Bert Cochran 10
WHAT LABOR NEEDS by Donald Tormey 14
SKILLED TRADES' REVOLT IN AUTO by A Special Correspondent 16
PARIS LETTER 19
NOTEBOOK OF AN OLD-TIMER by George H. Shoaf 22
OPINIONS 24
    THE CHOICE OF DOCTORS by Jay W. Friedman
    A PAGE FROM SOCIALIST HISTORY by Harvey O'Connor
    RACISTS GAINING IN THE NORTH? by Michigan Reader
"SOCIALISM" IN THE MILWAUKEE ELECTIONS by Robert Henderson 26
BOOK REVIEW 27
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR 31

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The Coming Showdown For Jim Crow

THE long-expected crisis of Negro and white America is here. It has been slowly building up, since the Civil War Reconstruction period was ended by a rotten deal between Northern and Southern property at the expense of the Negro people. Now it is here, and no trick or formula can stuff it back in the box.

What is the crisis? In 1905, a group of young, militant Negro intellectuals met at Niagara Falls in a gathering which foreshadowed the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a few years later. They disagreed sharply with the Uncle Tom philosophy of the foremost Negro leader Booker T. Washington, and they set their own conviction down as follows:

> *We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America.*

There is nothing more powerful, it has been said, than an idea when its time has come. This is the idea, and its time is here. Long restricted to middle-class Negro intellectuals, it has now penetrated the mass of the Negro people. True, some parts of that people are moving more rapidly and more sure-footedly than others. True, the Negroes are still weak in leadership and national coordination. But the idea of full equality as an immediate goal and object of struggle has unmistakably taken hold in the South and in the North.

There are too many positive signs for any one to make a mistake in this matter. When the long legal campaign of the NAACP on the school front brought the Supreme Court victory in May 1954, it was still possible to dismiss that event as top legal maneuvering. Even the great outcry of the Negro people against the brutal Till murder could be discounted as an exceptional response to an extraordinary outrage. But the magnificent revolt of the Southern Negro focused in the Montgomery bus boycott, now in its fifth awe-inspiring month, is enough to dispell all remaining doubts. The American Negro has risen to his feet. The ferment will not abate; it will increase. The drama of the Negro in America which began with the corsairs who scoured the coasts of Africa for black slaves to enrich the greedy merchants and planters three centuries ago is to see its great showdown. The principal actors will be the oppressed descendants of those outraged slaves, and they are already acquitting themselves with a splendor that restores faith in the ability and dignity of the human race, even when long degraded and brutalized.

THE Supreme Court decision affirming school integration was a landmark in the process, a culmination of some years of battling aided by the embarrassment of the ruling class in a world most of which is non-white. But that decision alone does not count for too much. What does count is the growing conviction among hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of Negroes that they can no longer go on in the old way. Since World War II, virtually every major city and town in America has had its local integration battle, over housing, parks, golf links, swimming pools, restaurants, employment, etc. Hundreds of factories and mills have had determined upgrading struggles by groups of Negro militants who refuse to accept any longer for themselves and their children a future as the janitors of industrial America. In these struggles, the first crusading forces of the Negro were assembled, while a nation which depends upon a one-sided press went about its business largely unaware. With the school crisis, however, the Negro struggle became all-national.

The Montgomery bus boycott has gotten most of the publicity, but it is not the only struggle. Hundreds of others dot the national—and particularly Southern—landscape. In Memphis it is parks and golf links. In Florida, public beaches. In Richmond, Va., a successful war of nerves by Negroes against department stores where they got discourteous treatment—they thronged the stores and tried on everything, bought nothing. Even more important, national boycotts are springing up against firms that back white-supremacist organizations or are rumored to do so, and so Southern an institution as Coca-Cola was recently forced by a growing boycott to disclaim any aid to such groups.

In the southward movement of Northern runaway plants, an important reversal has taken place. Quick to see the signs, the long-range planners of these concerns understand that the era of docile Southern peonage is coming to an end; that the Negro revolt will raise the wage scale; that hard on its heels will come the unionization of the South. Fantus Factory Locating

Service, one of the biggest in the business, reports a growing reluctance to move South, and a number of cancellations of previously ordered searches for Southern sites. In the bond and stock market, new Southern issues are very soft, and Ohio banks are forbidden to hold Georgia school bonds in their portfolios. Florida has been forced to withdraw a school bond issue because of unfavorable rates offered by prospective takers. In brief, the attractiveness of the Southern economy, based upon super-exploitation of white and Negro, is impaired (at least the first signs are appearing) as business sees the handwriting on the wall.

WHAT has caused the new Negro militancy? Why today instead of forty or fifty years ago? There are many important reasons, but probably the most important of them has been the striking change in the Negro's position in the American economy and population structure. At one of the rallies in the Montgomery bus boycott, Rev. Abernathy, one of the boycott leaders, poked a bit of fun at white massa:

> *We Negroes used to live out in the brier patches and we had to eat rabbit every day, and we were afraid of the white folks just like the rabbits. But now we've moved to the city and we eat steaks and chops and everything else the white folks eat. And we're not scared any more.*

This was not just a bit of sly folk humor. In 1900, only 22.6 percent of the Negro population lived in cities, while the white population was coming close to being a city-dwelling people in the majority. But by 1950, fully 60.6 percent of the Negro population lived in cities—very close to the 64.1 percent of white people who were urban in that year. Prior to World War I, the Negro population in both Northern and Southern cities was very small, and confined in the main to occupations such as servant, porter, janitor, and common laborer. But, beginning with the first World War, Negroes began to move into the cities, at first seeking the war-opened jobs, then in larger numbers as strikebreakers imported during the steel and meatpacking strikes. With the collapse of the South's cotton economy during the twenties and thirties, the movement became a tide, and Negroes began to break into the big industrial plants—at least in the hot, dirty or menial jobs. With the second World War and the winning of a Fair Employment Practices Commission, the tide was strengthened, and has been continuing ever since. The mass-production CIO unions played a big role in opening up new plants and new departments to Negroes, and local struggles by militant Negro unionists added pressure.

Today, one out of five Philadelphia residents is a Negro, one out of seven in Chicago, and one out of ten in New York. Between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population of Michigan more than doubled, while the white population increased 17 percent. California presents a similar picture. And in the South itself, the Negro has been moving into the cities, so that today even in that area the Negroes are in their clear majority urbanized.

IN 1905, W. E. B. Du Bois and the other young men of the Niagara movement were appealing to a Negro populace that was scattered and atomized in rural poverty, barely touched by the currents of thought in the cities, oppressed by a hard-riding medieval dictatorship of the kind that can only be maintained among a poor and backward peasantry. The Negro was hardly in a position to be *reached* with the message of hope, let alone organized for a battle. But today the Negroes are in the cities, factories, and unions, their middle class and professional group is much expanded, they have many organizations and means of maintaining solidarity, they can raise funds in sizable amounts and direct them where they are needed, they can assemble potent legal talent, and have a reservoir of friendship in the white population which is already pretty large and growing all the time.

For the country has changed also in this half century. The ferments of two world wars, a crushing depression, a fiercely argued cold war and a world in revolution have boiled a lot of the hick quality out of American thinking, and made it more responsive to humanitarian and cosmopolitan ideas. The rise of organized labor has established a new locus of power with a progressive social outlook, and this has helped change the face of the nation. And the lonely battles waged by the radicals and militant liberals of the past half century are bearing fruit too, although none prominent today in public life, either Negro or white, has had the courage to admit this.

At the time of the Niagara movement, the Negroes were estranged from the labor movement—so much so that most Negro leaders pictured the unions as white man's devices to add to the Negro's troubles. Booker T. Washington was not the only leader who proposed that the Negro people try to ally themselves with the white employer and depend upon his philanthropy; that was the philosophy that underlay the Urban League from its formation in 1910. The white employers made cunning use of this philosophy to introduce Negroes into industry as strikebreakers, and a fixed relationship of hatred between Negro and white workers resulted. Even as late as 1941, in the Ford strike, the echoes of this persisted, but the old relationship received its *coup de grâce* in that strike and Detroit's Negro community swung decisively for unionism.

In the last two decades we have seen a revolution in attitudes. Negroes by and large understand that unionism and black-and-white solidarity are an essential part of the answer to their problems, and there is hardly a single Negro leader who preaches the old anti-union creed. On the side of the whites, the old ramparts of Jim Crow in the unions are breached and going fast.

But the size of the job ahead can be measured if we take a look at the position of the Negro in American life today. The exact status of Negro rights, opportunities, living conditions, and so forth, is not too easy to judge, as Dr. Du Bois pointed out recently, because our rulers have consistently shied away from any broad, national survey of the condition of the Negro people. But some basic facts are easily available, and these facts are a strong antidote to any illusions about the advances that have been made or what remains to be won. Much has been achieved, but the Negro people remain on the bottom rungs of the American ladder.

Occupations of Negro Men, 1950

(In Percentages)

	Non-White	*White*
Professional, technical and kindred workers	2.2%	7.9%
Farmers and farm managers	13.5	10.5
Managers, officials and proprietors (except farm)	2.0	11.6
Clerical and kindred workers	3.4	6.8
Sales workers	1.5	6.6
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	7.6	19.3
Operatives and kindred workers	20.8	20.0
Private household workers	.8	.1
Service workers	12.5	4.9
Farm laborers and foremen	11.3	4.4
Laborers (except farm and mine)	23.1	6.6
Unclassified	1.3	1.3

IN 1900, the inequality of living standards between white and Negro was shown by the fact that the death rate per 1,000 population for Negroes was 54 percent higher than for whites. A half century later, in 1949, the Negro death rate was still 50 percent higher. Medicine, nourishment, etc., had made much progress among both white and Negro, but the Negro was still just about as far behind the white in this sphere as he had been fifty years earlier. The same fact is registered by the figures for life expectancy in recent years, which give a Negro girl at birth about 8½ years less of life to look forward to than white girls, and Negro boys about 7 years less. This is a gain from the beginning of the century, but a very slight gain so far as the relative position of the Negro infant is concerned.

The mortality tables are tragic reflections of the economic statistics. In 1950, the median money income of white families was $3,445 a year, while that of Negro families was $1,869. This means that the Negro family income was only about half—54.3 percent—of white family income, and this in spite of the fact that more family members among the Negroes are forced to work, on the average, than among whites. Now this situation is an improvement over pre-World War II depression figures, when Negro family income was probably only about 40 percent of white. But that change is mainly due to the influx into city jobs of farm Negroes, and to the greater effect on the Negro of full employment. The high point was reached in the last years of the war, and since then it has not been getting better. Every recession, even the slightest, throws Negro income back more than white, and shows that the economic position of the Negro people has not yet been fundamentally altered. In the years 1947-51 the average rate of unemployment was 50 percent higher among Negroes than whites.

NEGROES are still restricted in the main to the menial and low-paying jobs (see box). They have not been able, because of poverty and school discrimination, to get higher education in the most sought-after professions in any numbers, and have not had any incentive to try to get it because of job discrimination in those professions. Charles S. Johnson, head of Fisk University, related the following incident in *Phylon*:

> *Last year we had a call from a government department in Washington for four Negro geologists.* (*The request was for Negro geologists because in this new alignment of the world there are places where they can work with great advantage to our international relations.*) *I gave tentative assurance that at least two or three could be located among the fifteen million Negroes in the United States, and set about the search. To date not a single one has been located or even heard of. How and where can they be taught in this region?*

Of nearly 4,000 persons holding Ph.D's in mathematics in the U.S., only fifteen are Negroes. There are fewer than a dozen Negro Ph.D's in economics. Negroes constitute ten percent of the population, but only about three percent of those enrolled in institutions of higher education, and most of these are in segregated colleges. In 1950, the median number of school years completed by persons 25 years old or over was seven for Negroes and almost ten for whites.

Now that the great struggle is at last fairly under way it is time for some hard-headed thinking about the road ahead. The first thing to get straight is, as the above facts show, that contrary to the hasty banner-waving of the pollyannas, this struggle has only just begun; it is still very far from its final victories; it will be a protracted and complex fight that will face stubborn and bitter resistance every step of the way. In the first flush of illusion after the Supreme Court decision, Harry S. Ashmore wrote (in the May 29, 1954 *Nation*): "But it is clear that for the most part Southerners may be expected to undertake calmly and rationally to work out the tremendous social adjustments that ultimate integration of the public schools will require." And Arthur D. Shores added this amen: "We do not believe that there will be open defiance of the court's ruling, but we do expect legal maneuvers to sidestep it. Action will be necessary in Alabama to open the white schools to Negroes, but once open, we expect no serious incident." These judgments could hardly be sustained today, all the more by Mr. Shores, who was called upon to serve as Miss Autherine Lucy's attorney in the University of Alabama case.

The White Citizens Councils in the

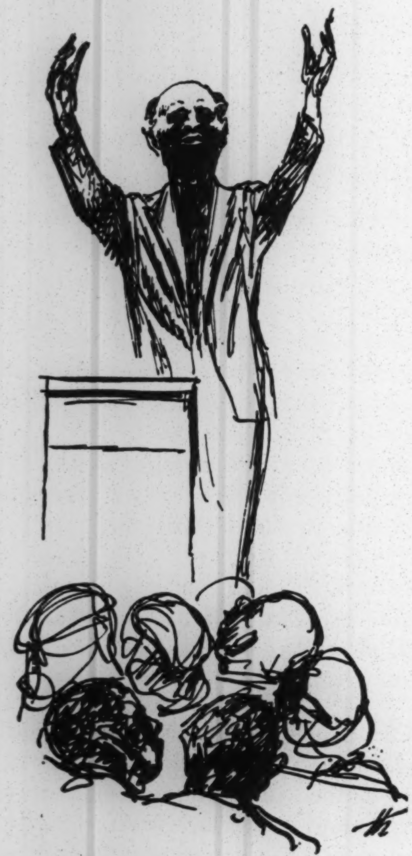
South are no flash in the pan. In the brief period of their existence they have already piled up a lurid record of terrorism, arson, murder, economic punishment and intimidation by almost every known means against the Negroes. They have now assembled on a South-wide scale in the Federation for Constitutional Government, organized during Christmas week in Memphis by the assembled Bourbonry of 12 Southern states, including most of the top leaders of politics and industry. Eastland of Mississippi, at that meeting, accurately laid down the line for the old ruling class of Dixie by shouting that "defeat means death."

SOUTHERN Bourbons dispose of great power. They are closely interlocked with power and property in the North, and their viewpoint is favorably heard in the most potent quarters. They are firmly ensconced in the very party that most Negroes look toward, and exercise a monarch's veto power over important decisions of the Democrats nationally. Through their one-party dictatorship over the South they have won the tenure which has given them the chairmanship of all but three of the fourteen standing committees of the Senate, and many of the most powerful committees of the House.

There is as yet no organized force of strength in either party to stand up to the Southern rulers in national politics. The Republican moguls are playing a shady do-nothing game, hoping to profit in votes with a minimum of payment in deeds. Among the Democrats, all but a few hardiest liberals shrink in panic when the Bourbons raise their voices. The labor movement is the great potential—to some extent more than potential, already active—ally of the Negro people, and has wished the new movement well many times in resolutions and occasional actions. Sections of labor are already in the fray, and there can be no doubt which way the movement will go when the chips are down. But the labor leadership has not yet made up its mind just how far it wants to go on this issue in national politics, and it has not matched the Southern ruling class in aggressiveness and determination.

The sum-total truth of the matter is that national politics in America is not aligned to settle the issue which the Negro people has thrown on the table. The Republican Party, which claims credit for the Supreme Court decision on school integration, cannot do it. It is true that the Wall Street cabal which dominates that party, as the ruling power of the country, is forced to take into consideration the national and international position of the United States, particularly in the cold war. The top Republican leadership has a broader understanding of the dimensions of the problem than local hotheads, and it realizes that some concessions are unavoidable.

But the Republican Party and its backers are tied to the Southern ruling class with a thousand cords of economic and social interest. Not the least of these are the oil and natural gas interests, which proved so important a connection between the Republicans—the Eisenhower wing as well as the McCarthy wing—and the Southerners in 1952. Beyond these tangible threads of interest that connect them, Wall Street Republicanism and Southern Bourbonry share a common outlook of social conservatism which has enabled them to jointly control Congress in the interests of property and reaction. The Republican staff commanders proved flexible enough to yield to necessity in the case of the school integration decision, but the two years of experience since then have shown that that is all they will do—yield to a great pressure if they must on this issue, but try to keep concessions to a minimum. The entire conduct of the Eisenhower administration, particularly Brownell's Justice Department, in the face of the recent Southern outrages proves that.



The Democratic Party, which is at present a coalition of Northern labor, liberals and Negroes with Southern Bourbons, is certainly not set up to handle this battle and fight it through. But the Democratic Party, being this kind of a coalition, is building up unbearable strains and tensions which are bound to split that party asunder into its component elements. The Negroes, driven by age-old injustices, are doing what the labor movement ought to have done years ago: They are creating, through their new movement, the conditions which will bring into existence a party of labor and the Negro people in this country.

IT is true that this development is not around the next bend in the road. Labor is still not in motion, and the economic conditions which will break the hypnotic illusions that have labor in their spell are not yet here. In the coming elections, the two parties will probably be able to smear over and muddy up the issues so that, by the time the electorate goes to the polls, nobody will have a very clear idea of which party stands for what, and the Negro people will have no clear choice. Candidate Stevenson's bid to keep the issue "out of politics," unbelievably crass though it was, will probably carry the day, in effect, if not by formal agreement, in the sense that neither party will offer much hope for firm action.

But, while the rift in the Democratic Party can be papered over by phony resolutions to which many Negro, labor and liberal leaders will unfortunately lend their names, this can work only for a limited period of time. If it be asked why this is so, considering that the current unholy coalition with white supremacists has already lasted for more than twenty years, the answer is that now the Negroes are on the move *en masse,* and this changes all the odds and makes it a brand new ball game. The Negro movement cannot be compromised; even were the Negroes willing to stop at some halfway point, the racists are not prepared to give an inch, for they know that even a few crevices in their rotten structure would soon bring it all tumbling down.

Even before the present crisis began in the Democratic Party, the rift had become serious. In 1948, the 39 electoral votes of five Southern states were yanked out of the Democratic column by a Dixiecrat revolt and cast for the Thurmond-Wright ticket. In 1952, the tactic was changed, and Texas plus one or two other Southern states were taken out of the Democratic column by their leaders in a bolt to Eisenhower. Thus the last two elections, even before the great and swelling Negro movement of today, witnessed internal crises in the Democratic Party.

BUT those were only partial crises. In each case, the Bourbon leadership was divided, and only a minority portion of it wanted an all-out fight. The Democrats were able to weather those storms handily, even winning in '48. But now there is a high degree of unity and aggressiveness in the Dixiecrat ranks. They are evidently determined to fight. On the other side, the Negro people and their allies are alive to the issues and watching the Northern Democrats closely. Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP has blamed the failure of Congress to act in the crisis on the "peace pact" between Northern and Southern Democrats. NAACP leaders have told the Democratic Party that if Senator Eastland continues to hang around its neck like a "stinking albatross" that party can "kiss our votes goodbye." In the present situation this is more than just rhetoric, and presages a great convulsion inside the Democratic Party that will spell the end of that party as we now know it. This won't happen tomorrow or next week, but it is a process which is irreversibly under way. And every thinking American who wants to see his nation progress will shout "Good riddance!" to this reactionary roadblock when it finally comes crashing down.

Once this is understood, it can be appreciated by the historically minded that we are on the threshold of a new era in American politics. Setbacks and delays will not alter that; the new era is as clearly foreshadowed by the movement of the Negro people as the present new epoch in Asia and Africa was foreshadowed to the observant by the early stirrings during and after the war.

What will come after when the old coalition breaks apart? The logical successor is a new party of labor, Negroes, small farmers, and the liberal elements of America. We firmly believe that this will come into being sooner even than many of its present-day supporters believe. But it will not come of itself. Labor will have to take its historic place as leader of a new coalition. But labor is still hesitant and confused, and its leaders don't show any signs of realizing that the Democratic Party crisis calls for an entirely new alignment. The sooner the labor movement gets its bearings in the new situation, the better it will be for the progress of the American people.

Communist Parties in Crisis

THE Communist parties are in the biggest moral and intellectual crisis of their lives. The revelations emanating from the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU pulled the rug from under them. And every day has brought new exposés and fresh confirmations of wrongdoings: the rehabilitation, posthumously or otherwise, of many political and military figures in Russia, the admission that the Rajk and Kostov trials were frameups and that the executions were crimes, the forced resignation of Premier Chervenkov of Bulgaria, the denunciation of Stalin's anti-Semitic pogrom against the Jewish community. Understandably, the Communist parties are in a turmoil; even credulity and fanaticism have their limits. For the first time since 1929, the floodgates have opened up, and the Communist press in the West is inundated with discussion of the momentous turn in the situation.

For immediate purposes, we will confine our attention to the reaction of the Communist leaders in the capitalist West: France, Italy, England and the United States—particularly the last, as we are able to follow the Communist press here every day and have greater access to information concerning the membership's moods.

The first thing that hit us was the obvious chagrin and resistance of these Communist Party leaders in the face of the revelations. They didn't welcome them at all. They tried to blunt the sharp edges of the charges. They tried to jolly their members along that this was a more or less normal and natural "re-evaluation." William Gallacher, chairman of the British Communist Party, insisted at a public meeting in Glasgow that Stalin remains for him a hero. Jacques Duclos, secretary of the French Communist Party, told a Paris audience upon his return from the Twentieth Congress that nothing too much was going to be changed except they would now employ some ritual phrases against the "cult of personality." Togliatti went through with the unpleasant chore in a similar fashion. And Foster in the United States has been doing his bit to keep the lid down. We are tempted to tell the story of the prisoners in the Bastille who refused freedom after the gates were flung open, so accustomed had they grown to confinement and darkness. But this is really not an accurate analogy. The truth is many of these CP officials were handpicked by Stalin, are beholden to him, feel smeared with his crimes, and are fearful that their reputations and careers will not survive the destruction of the Stalin legend.

SUCH an initial reflex action as that of Gallacher in England, or of James Allen in the United States—who wrote in the March 4 *Sunday Worker* that he wasn't embarrassed by anything that happened at the Twentieth Congress—could not persist for long. The American Communist Party is down to its hard core that has been able to swallow all sorts of twists and turns in policy. But there was no escape from the current dilemma: The revelations of crimes came not from opportunists, or capitalists, or foes of the Communist movement—but right from the horse's mouth. Alan Max, the *Daily Worker* managing editor, broke the ice with his piece in the March 13 *Daily Worker*, and the letters have been pouring in like a veritable Niagara ever since. These letters sound every chord of the emotional keyboard: bewilderment, hurt pride, resentment, shame. It is hardly surprising that after so many years of regimented sloganeering, and parrot-like repetition of formulas, the members are in a bad state of confusion and shock.

We want to single out what appear to us to be the main aspects of the problem under discussion.

Foster and those associated with him are following a tack of "rolling with the punch." Their writings make it clear that they are more concerned with how to handle this unwelcome emergency rather than with what is the truth. They conduct themselves like worldly-wise bureaucrats aiming to calm down their constituents rather than idealistic revolutionists fiercely jealous of the moral integrity of the movement. To the revelation that monstrous murders of blameless comrades took place, Foster offers several arguments in reply: Let's take it easy. Let's not rush into anything. Let's wait until we get more information from the Russians, who are the only people in a position to supply it. To the accusation that Russia was in the hands of an uncontrolled and bloodthirsty tyrant, we are handed a pseudo-sociological review of Soviet achievements and difficulties over the past decades in order to arrive at a so-called balanced view of Stalin.

To say as Foster does that "We don't have all the facts yet," a contention which *Masses and Mainstream* repeats in its April issue in the polemic with William Mandel, means to approach great social events not like Marxists but frightened pedants. We evaluate social and political happenings in the United States, Britain, South Africa, Indonesia, all around the world, without benefit of perusal of secret documents, government dossiers, or special inside dope. Why doesn't the same rule apply to the Soviet Union? We don't know *all* the facts of any social situation, and we may never know *all* the facts, but sufficient facts are known to come to an objective evaluation of Soviet social developments and conflicts in the past thirty years, as well as the role of its chief political actors.

TOP COMMUNIST LEADERS: Front row, l. to r., Eugene Dennis, William Z. Foster, Ben Davis. In the rear, l. to r. are John Williamson, Henry Winston and Jack Stachel.

The fact that the Communist Party leaders, theoreticians and publicists have not made this evaluation—and do not make it—is proof that they are part-time Marxists, or if one prefers, political schizophrenics. They can employ the Marxist method (although often badly emasculated) when dealing with events in the capitalist world. But as soon as they hit Russia, or any other country in the socialist sphere, they switch back to the good-and-bad-man theory of history, to mythology, and to paternalism (according to which you don't dare tell people unpleasant truths, as they're too feeble-minded to take them). No wonder Stalinist writing was considered as among the most unreliable in the world.

On this count, the discussion, despite its vehemence, has thus far not advanced the members' understanding too much about Russia's recent history, except that Stalin, instead of being a deity, was a "bad man" who grabbed up all the power, under whom flourished "the cult of personality," and who made a lot of "mistakes." Now, "good men" have taken over, they are re-establishing "the Leninist concept of collective leadership," they are rectifying the "mistakes," (such as shooting innocent people and blackening their names), and everything is going to be all right again. If this is all the discussion is going to introduce, there is the danger that a new lifeless stereotype will replace the old one—but the spark of independent critical thinking will be absent, as before.

Two other related questions which literally cry out for resolution have not been adequately grappled with in the current soul-searching.

First, whatever the sociological explanation may be, the Russian revolution admittedly assumed a deformed character during one of its stages. It is therefore at least theoretically possible that other revolutions in backward countries may throw up tyrannical regimes at one or another period of their existence. Isn't it therefore obligatory for people who want to be Marxists in a capitalist country like ours to disengage themselves from responsibility for the Soviet regime—especially since it has admittedly been befouled with certain crimes in the past, and since the CP members and leaders of this country have no way of determining its policy? Why can't the Left be supporters of the socialist countries, and defend them against capitalist slanders and attacks, but keep its independence inviolate, and not permit itself to become an ideological appendage of this or that regime or government group of personnel?

The Left still has the job of winning the American people to socialism. The struggle is difficult enough in a powerful capitalist country like this, even with a good program and an inspired leadership, but the objective difficulties are murderously, hopelessly compounded when Leftists discredit the movement and themselves by their identification with un-democratic and un-socialist behavior. The American people will never accept the Left if they think we are guilty of double-dealing.

WE have heard from some that in their opinion the discussion is hammering out an attitude of critical independence, and the *Daily Worker* editorials on Rajk of April 2 and on the outrages against the Jews on April 13 are pointed to as illustrations. That would be excellent if true. But do these editorials prove that the party has basically altered? No, not standing alone. They might prove independence under ordinary circumstances. But we are not confronted with ordinary circumstances. We are dealing with people who got themselves into such a state of disorientation that all sorts of unscrupulous practices became accepted as proper. These two editorials are good as far as they go, but we cannot ignore that they concerned crimes officially admitted by official Soviet sources.

Let us recall that Khrushchev and Bulganin had to make a dramatic demonstration with Tito to convince the Yugoslavs that a real change in attitude had taken place. Similarly, the CP leaders are in the position where they also have to do something pretty dramatic if they want to convince people that they are truthfully turning their backs on their past misdeeds. If they really want to work at achieving critical independence, and want to gain a reputation for having it, we offer two suggestions:

1) Take the voluminous record of the Dewey Commission hearings in Mexico City in 1938 on the Moscow Trials, study over the evidence, and don't wait for *Pravda,* but publish your own independent evaluation. We certainly don't believe the Left should devote itself to raking over the old Stalin-Trotsky-Bukharin quarrels, or settling the rights and wrongs of every past dispute in Russia or elsewhere of the past three decades. But the matter of the Moscow Trials, which involves the question of socialist integrity, refuses, like Banquo's ghost, to be downed. Moreover, it can be accepted as a lead-pipe cinch that outside of the CP's own restricted circle, no one in this country will take its claim to independence seriously until they grapple with such problems as this one.

2) Start analyzing the new regime and present-day Russian happenings like Marxists, not starry-eyed idolaters. There is as much information available about what is going on in Russia as about most other parts of the world. There is a world of difference between wholeheartedly supporting Russian socialism against capitalist encroachment, and turning oneself into a propaganda agency of existing (and often highly imperfect) socialist regimes abroad. People don't take press agents seriously. Until this distinction is fully grasped, independence and so-called self-criticism will remain catch-phrases.

The other important question that we have in mind is this: What measures are required to avoid a recurrence of a one-man police dictatorship, and how is such a catastrophe to be guarded against in future socialist states? On this point the discussion has not been too fruitful. The one guarantee, it seems to us, insofar as there are any guarantees, against the rise of tyrannical dictatorships, is democratic institutions and laws backed by an alert populace trained to jealously guard its democratic rights. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

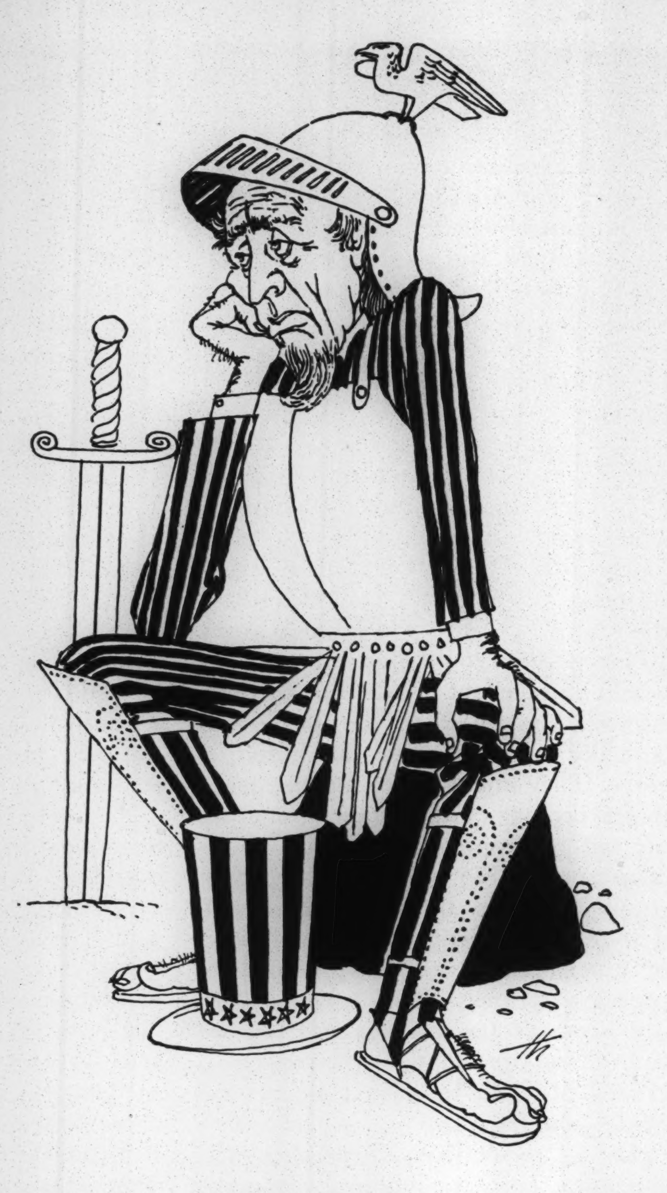
WE see in this connection that Max Weiss, the CP National Education Director, promises in the *Daily Worker* article of April 5 a plethora of democracy in a socialist America. His generosity is suspect however because of his approval of the one-party regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe, and his reasons for approval are positively awful. In this country, he informs us, there is a tradition of political dissent. But over in that part of the world, there is no such tradition, and hence, presumably, the people are not interested in having such rights. We never thought we would read from the pen of a would-be Marxist the suggestion that murderous Czarism or black Balkan fascism is to comprise the political tradition which socialism will emulate.

We do not contend that unrestricted and universal democracy can always be practiced in the throes of a difficult transition from capitalism to socialism. But we never favor semantic hocus-pocus where restrictions and suppressions are palmed off as the essence of "socialist democracy." And furthermore, if Lenin could try to establish broad democratic practices and permit opposition popular parties in 1917, isn't it feasible for the new rulers to experiment with such democratic rights forty years after the revolution?

Closer to home, the only possibility, so far as we can see, that the Communist Party may evolve into a normal radical grouping, lies in frankly repudiating its dictatorial and bureaucratic methods, and returning to the traditional give-and-take which used to be customary in the radical movement in the past. Unless it leads to this, the discussion will eventually wear itself out, and the CP will, with a few added frills, return to what it was before the Twentieth Congress.

In countries like France and Italy the Communist parties are the leading organizations of the working class. The masses are not going to leave these organizations that they have built up over many years of sacrifice and struggle. Their dissatisfaction will inevitably take the form of forcing through alterations in policy and personnel, and these organizations will therefore necessarily be the main elements of a socialist regroupment in that part of Western Europe. But in the United States, as in some other countries, the Communist Party is a small, isolated propaganda organization. Considering its moral debacle before liberal public opinion and its discreditment in the labor movement, it takes a stronger imagination than we possess to envisage this party as the future mass party of American radicalism. Nevertheless, the CP has many trained, experienced, courageous and devoted people, and if they reveal sufficient inner strength to absorb the lessons of the present crisis, they can become a significant force for the regroupment of the American Left under new auspices and on a new foundation that will have to be in every respect superior to the old. Otherwise, a generation of militants may get dispersed to the four winds.

The cold war has proved a flop, as it has failed totally in its effort to bring the Soviet bloc to its knees; in fact the tide has been in the other direction. But Uncle Sam, looking more like the Knight of the Woeful Countenance with every passing day, can't seem to lay down his sword and shield.



A Decade of Cold War

by Bert Cochran

IT is exactly ten years ago that Winston Churchill traveled all the way to Fulton, Missouri, to tell an expectant world that a cold war was being declared against Soviet Russia. Churchill was the right man to make the declaration. He had wanted "to strangle Bolshevism in the cradle" back in 1919. Now, with the eager support of the frightened American capitalists, the next round of the holy crusade was to start. Thus, at the end of the second World War, the bloodiest and costliest in the whole history of violence of the human race, there was to be not peace—but a cold war.

American policy quickly took on the various features of Mars. Truman intervened in Turkey and Greece with money, munitions and military missions. Then came the Marshall Plan, to be rapidly followed by the North Atlantic military alliance and Acheson's proposal to re-arm Germany. The Russians retaliated by expelling the capitalists out of their sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, by organizing armies within those countries, and taking the road of sovietization there. Within a few short years of Churchill's speech, two camps, armed to the teeth, were grimly facing each other across the extended border of Europe, so that one careless gesture or one fortuitous misstep would be sufficient to explode the whole powder magazine.

WE are now in the year of our Lord 1956, and for the entire past decade, with but few—and very few—breathing spaces, the cold war has been waged furiously, implacably, with all the weapons of terror and compulsion at the command of great modern states. And what are the results? What conclusion can we draw from the ten-year experiment? The cold war is an unmitigated flop! The failure to achieve its stated objectives is so abysmal, the weakening of the West's power and influence in the course of the ordeal has become so palpable and plain, that even the architect of the cold war, or at least, its inspirer, Churchill himself, as an old man of 80, felt constrained to cross the ocean again to plead with his power-drunk and none-too-discreet disciples—for what?—"to make a try at peaceful co-existence with Russia!" When we have lived to see the wheel take a full turn around and Churchill come to Washington to plead with our modern Bourbons to try to live with Communist Russia—why, we have seen everything!

Is it that the old gent was getting soft and senile? And had lost his grip on the realities? No, it was because he saw the realities only too well. The Soviet bloc has not been contained, as Kennan and Acheson intended, much less rolled back, as Dulles blustered. Instead it has been world capitalism that has been flung back; and the anti-capitalist camp now encompasses a third of the human

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This article has been condensed from a lecture delivered in Chicago on March 30 at the Midland Hotel, at a meeting on the second anniversary of the American Socialist *which was also addressed by Harvey O'Connor and chaired by Rev. William T. Baird.*

race and over a quarter of the earth's territory. Why did the Soviets improve their position? Because the Russians are slicker, smarter, wilier, trickier, more unscrupulous than the American diplomats, soldiers and business men? The last way to get anything straight about vast social movements of peoples and to understand deep-going revolutionary upheavals is to try to appraise them in terms of Fearless Fosdick, Terry and the Pirates, Captain Midnight or Superman. Massive events of history, and not Hollywood spy chases, accounted for the bankruptcy and break-up of Western policies.

Don't let's get the idea that the capitalist statesmen are simply a bunch of ignorant and uncouth Wall Street brokers—although to give them their just due they often act that way. These people learned a lot from their experiences during the revolutionary wave after the first World War when it seemed for a while as if most of Europe was to be engulfed by the Red tide. After the second World War they conducted themselves more expertly—at least in Western Europe, where they had a free hand. They poured a lot of money and food into the starving countries, and they stationed their troops in the major cities and centers. By a combination of the carrot and the stick they managed to prop up the rickety structure of capitalism in France, Italy, West Germany. Finally, the United States herded all of its Marshall Plan beneficiaries into the NATO war alliance, and capitalism was all set to "negotiate from strength" with the Soviet chieftains. But, unexpected to all hands on deck, a revolution exploded in the globe's back yard.

THE biggest and probably the most important event since the second World War has been the Chinese upheaval. It has shifted the world relationship of forces in favor of the Soviets. The Russians didn't plan it, or organize it, or direct it. As a matter of fact, Stalin had no belief in it and advised the Chinese Communists to come to terms with Chiang Kai-shek. Nor is it true that Nationalist China was sold out at the Yalta conference. On the contrary, it was specifically recognized and underwritten there by the Big Three. But "the best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft a-gley." This rotted and corrupt regime went hurtling to the ground and all the billions of American dollars and arms could not stay the crash. A vast countryside embracing 600 million people arose and began to tear old feudal China to shreds. In record time, inspired by a new philosophy and class leadership, the country was unified for the first time in its history, and moved into place as one of the world's foremost powers.

Big events continued to power the revolutionary wave that rolled over the colonial world as an aftermath of the second World War, a wave that has already covered more ground and has greater force than the one that followed the Russian revolution of 1917—and its momentum is not yet spent. The Chinese Revolution was part of the independence struggle of the colonial world. The causes and objectives of these independence movements have been repeatedly described by travelers and correspondents, and are well known to all of us. But the Chinese liberation movement, as against many other independence struggles, went all the way and gave the leadership to the Communists, instead of the middle class. Under this leadership, the country was literally torn from the grip of imperialism, won its sovereignty for the first time since the white man's invasion, and then took the Russian path of industrialization.

This road in the 1950's was no longer the plunge into the great unknown that it had been in the past. The Soviet Union had by now been in existence some three and a half decades. It had demonstrated in life that a country could be run without capitalists and landlords. It had proven in action that nationalized ownership of wealth and planned economy was practical and superior in its growth and potential to capitalism. It had revealed for all to see that a backward country could lift itself up by its own bootstraps and in a comparatively short time emerge as the second industrial power in the world. Industrialization and planning are becoming very attractive to many peoples of Asia and Africa, whose countries are still struggling with imperialist exploitation, grinding poverty and primitive economies.

5/9/14

SOCIALISTS believed in the past that the Soviet system would exert a big pull on the peoples of the world and convert millions by its shining example to the socialist faith. But for a long time it didn't work out that way. The Soviet Union remained for years a poverty-stricken country with much lower living standards than the capitalist West. And on the backs of its hard-working peoples arose a dread police state ruling with an iron hand. The capitalist propagandists had a field day jeering at the "proletarian paradise." Even the Soviet Union's most unabashed apologists were thrown on the defensive.

But after the long agonizing night lasting over a quarter of a century, the warming sun began peering through. Russia, after untold and unprecedented sacrifices, has emerged as a thriving industrial power. Cities are shooting up over its vast areas, living standards are getting better, education is becoming well-nigh universal. If not in the West as yet, at least in Asia and Africa, masses of people see it as a beacon of hope and a promise of fulfillment for their own aspirations and ambitions. From the depths of Africa to the furthermost tip of the Pacific these peoples are on the move, and feudal princes and sultans, middle-class nationalist leaders, and military dictators have all had to bend before the storm lest it sweep them aside.

This new surge of the independence movements poses a fearful threat to the capitalist powers. Where will it stop? If France is driven from North Africa, she will be a fourth-rate power. England had to get out of Suez; now she is being hounded in Cyprus. If what remains of the Empire goes, England will be but a small island off the coast of France. The United States has already lost China—the chief prize of the war with Japan in the Pacific. If it is driven out of the Near East, its main oil empire will be gone and its system of bases disrupted.

SOME in the capitalist world, confronted with the grim proposition that time favors its opponents, are tempted to rush to destroy them while capitalism still enjoys industrial superiority. There have been plenty of strategists, especially in the United States, who have been advocating just that. MacArthur, our home-grown Napoleon, who was sure we would push the Chinese over real easy; Radford, who's been itching to drop the atom bomb somewhere, on somebody; and Dulles, who moves right up to the brink of war with neither qualm nor quiver. But these intrepid fighters were invariably pulled back and wiser heads prevailed. The cold war never got to be a shooting war. Why? Because Soviet Russia is not only a major industrial power, but also a major nuclear power. It broke the American monopoly in atomic and hydrogen bombs, and confronted our rulers with the unpleasant fact that while we could blow up Russia, the Russians could blow up the U.S. And that is a most difficult and highly annoying detail to get around or wave away. Like acid on metal, that idea continued to wear away at the consciousness of the American people until even our demonic militarists had to accept it as an inescapable fact of the second half of the twentieth century.

That is why after all the huffing and puffing, after all the threats and lofty pronunciamentos, our statesmen had to repair to Geneva and there solemnly admit that war was not a feasible instrument of policy—right now, at any rate—and they had better try to compromise their differences by negotiation. But that did not inaugurate a division of the world into two spheres, as Wallace had envisaged in 1948, with both giants imposing a Roman peace in their respective spheres. The conflict channelized and erupted in new forms that brought the chill of apprehension to capitalism's heart.

Don't imagine that it is a simple matter to arrange a compromise between the United States and Soviet Russia. You can see how hard it is to arrive at a peaceful compromise between France and Germany over a tiny piece of territory like the Saar, or between England and Greece over a little island like Cyprus. But involved here are not only conflicting interests of two immense power blocs, but also the clash of two antagonistic social systems. For the first time since its inception, the American rulers are worried about the durability of their system. They came out of the war cocky as a bantam rooster; and their arrogance was sustained and reinforced not only by their power, but their ignorance as well. They saw unfolding before them the magnificent vista of the new, shiny, chromium-plated American Century. Suddenly, they are being confronted, indeed overwhelmed, by a world that has broken loose of its moorings, that refuses to be scared into dutiful obedience to Washington's commands. Their world of imperialist domination seems to be slipping from their grasp.

FOUR major events, each acting with the force of a hammer blow, have hopelessly disrupted the old imperialist equilibrium and have thrust world capitalism into a historic crisis.

First, the attempt to line up the non-Communist world into one big war bloc under Washington's command has failed. An immense neutral group has broken loose, including India, Burma, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Egypt, etc., and refuses to line up behind either side.

Next, Russia has entered the world market as an important supplier of industrial goods, and a trader that is both willing and able to buy the agricultural products of its prospective customers. Russia is ready to trade without imposing political conditions; and Russia is willing to help backward countries industrialize, as it has no interest in maintaining the classic imperialist pattern. The West's monopoly of industry, engineering know-how, war supplies, is irretrievably broken. The colonial peoples and countries have been accorded room for maneuver and to exert pressure that they never commanded in the past.

NEHRU AND MIKOYAN: The Indian Prime Minister marks the forehead of the Russian First Deputy Premier during holy festivities when Mikoyan visited India recently.

Third, the colonial and semi-colonial world is taking full advantage of its adversary's troubles. The motto of the Irish nationalists used to be: "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." That general idea never had such a workout as it's getting today. French North Africa is up in arms. The Arab Near East is flexing its muscles. Southeast Asia remains a seething cauldron and even Black Africa is astir. France and England, frightened for their remaining bastions of empire, suspicious that the stronger U. S. interests are waiting around like vultures to pick up the pieces when they are torn to shreds, are worrying more about colonial uprisings than about America's grand strategy for a new *cordon sanitaire,* especially when it is no longer too clear as to who is surrounding whom. In the process, Europe is being stripped of troops, our dear Allies of the "free world" are at each others throats, and NATO is in danger of getting reduced to a paper organization.

Fourth, the capitalist West is up against the fearful prospect that in five more years, Russia will exceed the industrial production of England, France and West Germany combined, and that in another two or three decades, the Soviet bloc will be economically stronger in every respect than the imperialist one.

SO, what to do? What is the answer? Well, they haven't got that figured out yet. We have witnessed a lot of frantic rushing to and fro. Spectacular tourism has become the substitute for policy. Eden comes to Washington to confer with Dulles. The French ambassador goes to London to talk with Eden. Then Dulles takes off on one of his bi-monthly global trips around the circuit. But nothing comes of all these travels except the issuance of some more hackneyed diplomatic communiqués that communicate nothing except that they are in a tight spot and a quandary. After all the cogitations they still have only one remedy, for as long as it lasts: military repression. France is busy trying to drown the Algerian independence struggle in blood, the way it tried and failed in Indochina. England is acting tough in Cyprus, but in the end will be pushed out just as she was from Egypt. At the next stage, these imperialist masters will face discontent at home from the men and women who have tired of being taxed into the poor house for imperialist adventures, and of losing their sons on far-off battle fields.

The effects of the world upheaval are crowding in on America, even though our people are still largely insulated in their thinking from the happenings abroad. We need be no seers to see that ahead lies a lot of violence, local wars, colonial clashes, and that humanity still has much agony in store for itself until these problems find resolution. But we can see more than that. If we try to project ourselves from the immediate to the future, if we turn our gaze from the momentary to the historical, we can already see beyond, the first faint outlines of a new world, a new system of government already emerging, that is to displace capitalism and imperialism—the system which brought mankind to the heights of civilization and achievement, but in its decline also hurled it into the bloodbath of two world wars, and has since taken it to the brink of the nuclear annihilation of the human race.

I have heard some say, "Well, if capitalism is really in such dire straits as you say, shouldn't we in America and throughout the 'free world,' rally 'round, one and all, to save the system?" And I ask, why should we? Why should we, the American people, identify ourselves with the system and rule of the monopolists, the bankers, the tycoons, and their servitors and time-servers, who at best represent no more, and probably a good deal less, than 10-15 percent of the people? If socialism is a superior social system, why shouldn't we be happy to see it victorious? If socialism will give people greater opportunities, greater achievements, greater leisure, why shouldn't we support it? If socialism will bring brotherhood and cooperation and do away with the soul-searing, character-destroying, dog-eat-dog ways of capitalism, why shouldn't we help it along?

I have been answered, "Good God! A combination of Aldous Huxley's 'Brave New World' and George Orwell's '1984'—what a future to look forward to! You want us to embrace a world system where armies of robots will cheerfully goose-step to the order of deified commissars! Is that your new Workers' Paradise?"

Let's look into this argument. As we all know, Karl Marx, one of the authentic major geniuses of the nineteenth century, was the founder of modern socialism. He analyzed the laws of capitalist economy and charted the next developments in history with impressive foresight. But life is more complex and multi-colored than any predictions and theories, even those spawned of genius. The socialist transformation didn't begin, as he projected, in the most advanced capitalist countries, but in the most backward. Socialism therefore in its first decades didn't show itself to the world as a system of higher cultural attainment and superior material well-being, but exhibited instead the unpleasing visage of a semi-Asian state, whose people were subjected to back-breaking toil, to a life of degrading poverty, ruled over by an omnipresent secret police, and forced to bow down before an omnipotent despot.

NATURALLY, its enemies didn't point out the strong sides of the Soviet Union or underline its vast potential for progress and growth. They concentrated on its worst aspects, its glaring weaknesses. And for many in the West—unfortunately, too many—socialism became synonymous with stifling police rule, Jesuitical double-talk, exploitation and denigration of the individual, and an all-powerful police state. The Russia of Stalin with its medieval nightmare of the Moscow Trials became for them the fixed and frozen picture of the Soviet system, past, present and future, for all time.

But the world moves, including the part that constitutes Soviet Russia. And contrary to its embittered foes, or its too-eager and too-glib apologists, the USSR is right now in the midst of a spectacular transformation. Stalinist dictatorship was countenanced when the ignorant *muzhik* tilling the soil with a wooden plow typified the country. But that kind of a government would not do for a country that is a great industrial power. It was one thing when the country was a beleaguered fortress surrounded by a hostile world. But with the spread of socialism to half a dozen countries to its West, and to China and beyond in the Orient, the tyranny had become not only unjust but unacceptable.

Russia still has a long way to go before it can qualify as a democratic socialist state. But the trend of present events is heartening. It is very important to all of us because it demonstrates better than any logical argumentation can that socialism is not indissolubly linked up with dictatorship at all, that only the primitive heritage of Russia imposed certain savage traits on its early phases of development, that with the advance of the country these will be sloughed off as vestigial survivals of its pioneering struggles for a new society.

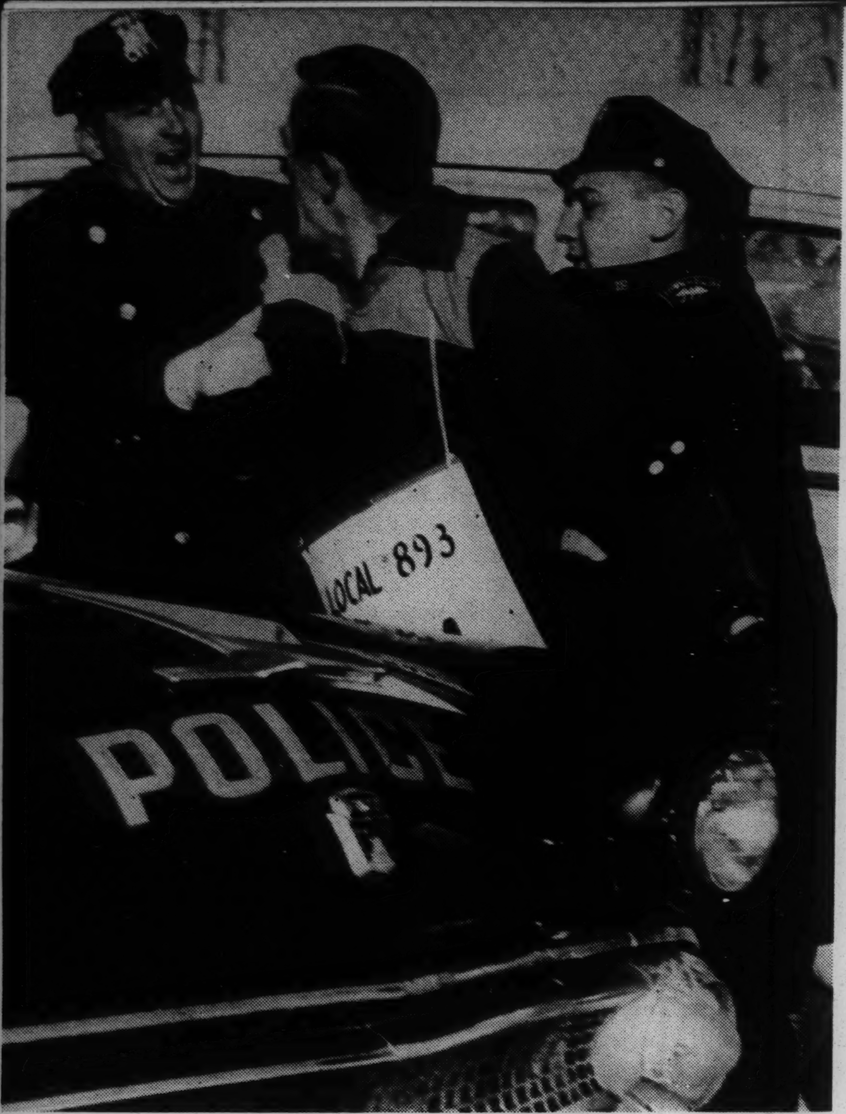
BUT we will do it easier and better in the advanced capitalist countries of the West and particularly here in the United States. When these countries go socialist, they will rest on modern technology and industry, they will be fructified by the initiative of a trained working class, they will be nourished by great traditions of democratic and labor battles and attainments. Western Socialism will have no resemblance to Orwell's "1984." It will be rather man's fulfillment of the great utopias from Thomas More to Edward Bellamy.

The political climate is still stormy in our country and the horizon is still dark and menacing. I talked of the line of the future not in order to contrive an escapist diversion from a harsh and forbidding present, but because every pioneering movement must keep its vision undimmed of what it is fighting for, and must keep its faith inviolate in the reality and truthfulness of its vision. We are fortified in our work when we know that our efforts for a socialist society are not only just and humane and right, but that they are being backed by vast forces and movements operating in the present history of man.

Organization of the unorganized workers has come to almost a dead stop, according to this New England unionist's report. A lot more vigor has to be displayed if the unions are to hold their own.

What Labor Needs

by Donald Tormey



MOST workers in organized trades and industries are not aware of how badly off the workers are in those huge pockets of misery formed by the unorganized or poorly organized sections of the working class. Many will be surprised to learn that the recent amendment to the Wage and Hour Law (which covers only a little more than half of all workers) lifting the legal minimum hourly wage for plants engaged in interstate commerce to $1 an hour affects some 2,100,000 workers, of whom 1,600,000 are employed in manufacturing. These 1,600,000 manufacturing workers, who have been getting below $1 an hour, represent 10 percent of all manufacturing workers in the country! An even more disturbing statistic is that 1,200,000 of these workers are employed *outside* the South.

There has been no breakdown of how many of these low-paid workers outside the South are organized or unorganized, but it is surprising how many of them have been under union contract at these sweat-shop wage rates. Here in New England, thousands of organized union workers in the shoe, needle trades, plastic, and jewelry industries received wage increases by the $1 minimum wage law which they had not been able to get through union-negotiated contracts. Many additional thousands of workers in New England (the number is impossible to fix without the cooperation of sweat-shop owners) also received increases as a result of the new law.

ORGANIZATION of unorganized workers, which the above figures show to be so badly needed, has come almost to a dead stop in New England. There has been plenty of fratricidal raiding between unions during the past several years, but new organization, by and large, has been neglected by the industrial unions, or where tried defeated by the employers. (An encouraging exception is a recent Labor Board election victory by the International Association of Machinists at Winchester Arms in New Haven.)

As New England's cotton textile industry migrated to the South (with wool beginning to follow), the employment vacuums were filled by scores of small and medium-sized shops manufacturing pocketbooks, clothing accessories, boxes, and all kinds of toy, plastic and electronic gadgets. Many a runaway shop, it is now disturbing to see, heads for New England instead of the deep South. And why not? *The average wage for production workers in Rhode Island, a highly industrialized state, is lower than the average production worker's wage in Louisiana, and only 5 cents higher than Alabama.* Production workers in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont average lower wages than their counterparts in Alabama, Louisiana, and Tennessee, and only slightly above Florida. Memphis now pays higher wages than Providence; Birmingham higher than Boston.

General Electric Corporation, the biggest and richest of the world's electrical monopolies, has eight unorganized plants in New England. Sylvania Electric Company has five unorganized plants here, all located in highly industrialized and supposedly highly organized Eastern Massachusetts. The Hytron Company, which is the manufacturing arm of CBS, has four plants in Massachusetts, all of them in the grip of an incorporated company union with the lowest rates and worst conditions in the industry. The Gillette Razor Company is only a medium-long walk from the Boston AFL and CIO headquarters, but no world series fan or fight enthusiast who listens to their radio and television commercials can buy a union-made Gillette product. These are only a few samples of the monuments to the open shop spread all over New England.

Mr. Tormey is New England International Representative of the independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

To make matters worse, there are literally dozens and dozens of small low-paying shops that exist only to do "sub-contract" work for some of the bigger shops where organization has been long established and where wages are relatively high. Attempts to organize these little plants are met with discharges and other forms of intimidation, so common in these Taft-Hartley days. Intimidation could be overcome. What is not so easily overcome is the belief on the part of many of the workers in the sub-contracting shops that to raise their wages and conditions to the level of the prime contractor automatically means to organize themselves out of jobs. Why should the big company sub-contract work if there are no additional profits to be made? The dangers inherent in the growth of such practices are obvious, and the damage being done to present working conditions in organized shops is already apparent.

GENERAL Electric is a perfect example of how an anti-labor monopoly uses sub-contracting sweat-shops. The work is farmed out at a huge saving in wage cost. And the constant threat to expand sub-contracting is the means of increasing speed-up, cutting wages, down-grading jobs, and worsening conditions in the "home" plant itself. A very neat scheme, and despite efforts of the unions to solve the problem, no headway has been made. Discontent with such a state of affairs is widespread among local union leaders and the rank and file.

The discontent does not get translated into forceful action, however, because of certain restrictions in the union contracts. The basic contracts in big manufacturing industry are long-term: three years in auto, five years in electrical manufacturing. The right to exercise the unions' only potent weapon, the strike, for *any cause* during the long contract term is either forbidden or so bound up in legalistic red tape as to be meaningless. In return for the annual "improvement factor" (which averages 6 cents), the auto and electrical monopolies were given unprecedented rights to speed up work without compensatory wage increases, and to introduce automation without protection for the workers displaced. Work stoppages against speed-up, increased work loads, or incentive-wage cutting, mean for all practical purposes rebellion against the union contract itself.

Not that such stoppages don't take place. In this area, they have taken place hundreds of times in the past year. Each time they have been met with penalty furloughs without pay or other forms of company (and sometimes union) discipline, including discharge. Only once, to my knowledge, has there been any industry-wide or company-wide support for a work stoppage against the worsening of union conditions during the term of the union contract. The IUE-Westinghouse chain went down for three days in support of its Pittsburgh local in the late summer of 1955. That local had been on strike for six weeks. When the three-day sympathy walkout was over, the Pittsburgh local went back to work under protest and with its grievances unsettled. A few weeks later, the nationwide strike against Westinghouse began over issues arising out of the contract re-opening, but closely connected with the accumulation of grievances which had caused the summer walkout and sympathy strike.

The final Westinghouse strike settlement resulted in very modest improvements in base wage rates, and in pensions and insurance. The strike also prevented the company from eliminating entirely the role of the union in the long periods between contract negotiations—the company's real aim. But there was no improvement over the previous contract in relation to speed-up, down-grading, or incentive-wage cutting.

THE basic auto contracts expire in 1958. The basic electrical contracts expire in 1960, but there is a provision for contract re-opening in 1958 around job-security questions, with the right to strike at that time. Regardless of what happens in the steel negotiations this year, an unsatisfactory guerrilla warfare between workers and management, with the workers on the difficult end, will continue for at least another two years.

The greed of the American monopolies is insatiable. Unable to provoke the war they had been preparing, unwilling to open up East-West trade because of fears of helping further the industrialization of the socialist and colonial areas, capitalism is turning with ever-increasing pressure upon its own workers. And the workers know it, without as yet understanding the reasons.

The top-level merger of the AFL and CIO may defeat an anti-labor politician here and there, but unless there is a lot more vigor shown it will not organize the unorganized, even in the North. Nor will it protect the already organized workers from the rapacity of American capital without a big increase in militancy. Among many workers (old-timers) and especially among a broad section of the lower-ranking trade union leadership, there is a growing nostalgia for the militant spirit of past years. There is an increasing awareness in the shops, not very vocal as yet, that the spirit of '46, when united workers on the picket line won the largest single wage increase in history from reluctant steel, auto and electrical monopolies, is an absolute must, if the vitality and integrity of the trade union movement is to be preserved.

This calls for the participation of a hard-working and articulate left wing, whose ultimate goal is socialism. Automation and atomic power with socialism is an inspiring prospect for America. Automation and atomic power in the hands of the monopolies, with Dulles, Eastland and Company riding high, is a prospect to make even George Meany shudder.

QUESTION: I read somewhere that you offer seven easy rules by which one can become president of the company. What are those seven easy rules?

You have been misinformed. I never offered such a list. I doubt if anybody ever became president of a company through any number of easy rules. But, since you ask how to become president of the company, I'll try a list of seven rules—though they won't be easy ones. Here they are: 1) Be intent only on doing your present job well. 2) Don't think about being president, only think of being efficient. 3) Work hard. 4) Work early and late. 5) Study, study, study until you learn real know-how. 6) Work your head off. 7) Try not to have a heart attack.

—Norman Vincent Peale
Answers Your Questions,
Look, January 24, 1956

Golf, anybody?

The revolt of the skilled-trades mechanics in the UAW has grown to serious proportions. Reuther's formula of threats and bluster does not appear to be working.

Reuther on Thin Ice:

Skilled Trades' Revolt in Auto

by A Special Correspondent

Detroit

THE auto union is facing the most serious threat to its unity since the Homer Martin break-away in 1938-39. The danger stems from the restlessness of the skilled trades sections of the union. The dissatisfaction of the skilled workers has been growing for the past few years, and last year it found organizational expression with the setting up of a new rival independent organization, the Society of Skilled Trades, which claims to have enrolled by now 8,000 members in Wayne County and 30,000 throughout Michigan, and is presently demanding an NLRB election for bargaining rights at the big Burroughs plant in Detroit.

The dual union movement of UAW skilled workers was precipitated by the outcry against last year's auto contract settlement. The skilled workers felt they had not received a square deal in the eight-cent additional increase negotiated on their behalf; wildcat strikes of skilled men swept through many Ford and GM plants, and the conflict has been simmering since.

The skilled-trades problem in the auto union has a history of its own. The present crisis can best be understood in the framework of the evolution of the union over the past two decades. In the earlier heroic period, major attention was focused upon shop conditions, speedup, and related problems. The ranks were actively involved in the fight to improve shop conditions and often resorted to brief sit-down and departmental strikes to get satisfaction. Grievances were considered and treated as a "sacred trust." Economic demands were made and settled on a union-wide basis with production workers and skilled workers sharing the gains more or less equally. Broad union solidarity prevailed. The UAW, like many other CIO unions, was in those days more than just a trade union. It had the character of a broad social movement of protest which swept into its orbit many sections of the population.

ONCE the General Motors Corporation became convinced that it would have to do business with the union if it was to continue to produce automobiles, it set into motion a calculated plan to promote "responsible" unionism. To GM this meant curbing the initiative and independent activities of the workers in the plants.

The company won its first important victory when Homer Martin, then president of the union, sent a letter in 1938 authorizing the discharge of workers for participation in "unauthorized strikes." The crack-down by the top union leadership on militant actions of the membership was gradually extended to the balance of the union. Active unionists in the Briggs plants were victimized and an "administrator" was placed over Briggs Local 212 in 1941. This was followed by similar discharges at Budd, Dodge, etc.

The trend to more "responsible"—that is, more conservative—unionism was accelerated in the course of World War II. The adoption of the "no-strike pledge" and the creation of the War Labor Board helped set the stage for the introduction of "umpire" systems within the grievance procedures in most plants. Increasingly, problems affecting workers were solved, or more correctly, disposed of, not by elected representatives, but by an outside arbitrator. Supplementing the umpire system, the union set up an elaborate screening system designed to weed out "weak" grievances. As a result literally thousands of legitimate grievances were and are dropped without ever reaching the umpire.

Furthermore, after the first few years, there has been little or no progress in winning important contract improvements so far as working conditions on the job, particularly speed-up, seniority and in-plant union representation, are concerned. One would be justified in assuming—based upon the lack of progress and even backsliding in this area in recent years—that a gentlemen's agreement exists between the corporations and the union leadership: In exchange for economic concessions, union shop and dues check-off arrangements, the employers are permitted to pretty much run the plants as they see fit.

UNABLE to cope with the retreat of the leadership, and confronted by continuing high costs of living, the average worker has been compelled to seek individual solutions to his problems. Working at a supplementary job, two wage earners in the family, a complete reversal in attitudes toward overtime or foremen's jobs—these are some of the expressions of the present trend. This growing mood of individualism when combined with the economic boom of recent years revived and strengthened craft tendencies which had existed in latent form from the earliest days.

In pre-union depression days skilled workers were a dime a dozen. It was often the custom for skilled toolmakers to bid on jobs like contractors. Low-bid man got the job—almost always at a miserable hourly rate. Skilled workers made a number of attempts to organize on their own in pre-UAW days but with limited success. Effective organization came only with the great sweep of the UAW and the triumph of industrial unionism. Craft unionism stood discredited even among the skilled men.

Beginning with the tooling-up program for the war, the demand for skilled workers skyrocketed. The new situation restored the craftsman's self-confidence and revived his craft prejudices. The new mass training methods were turning out skilled workers or machine specialists by the thousands. Fear of a post-war flood of the skilled trades labor market led to expanded organization of "skilled trades councils" within the union and demands for separate charters for skilled trades workers.

The UAW leadership felt compelled to bow to many of these pressures. Agreements were made with the corporations denying seniority to production workers who had upgraded to skilled trades jobs. In the post-war period, thousands of production workers had to return to their production jobs in spite of the skills they had developed during the war. Frequently their places were taken by "journeymen" with little or no seniority and sometimes with lesser abilities.

The original organization of the skilled trades councils had a legitimate purpose. They focused attention on the serious wage inequity which existed for UAW skilled tradesmen. There was a considerable gap—and there still is—between the wages of skilled tradesmen in so called "captive shops" (tool rooms that are part of main auto plants) as contrasted with wages paid skilled tradesmen, also UAW members, in "jobbing shops" (independent tool and die suppliers). In addition, UAW skilled tradesmen in "captive" shops worked for substantially lower wages than AFL skilled tradesmen in comparable trades.

DURING World War II the first special economic adjustment for skilled workers was granted. They have been granted regularly since that time. In spite of this, the gap between UAW and AFL skilled tradesmen's wages constantly widened, because of the limited wage increases under the UAW five-year contracts. AFL unions under one-year agreements and UAW jobbing-shop skilled tradesmen who also had short-term agreements gained greater wage concessions, thus aggravating the old wage inequity problem.

Inability to resolve this wage differential prepared the explosion which came with the recent UAW settlements. The skilled tradesmen felt the eight-cent per hour increase, instead of the 30 cents they had been led to expect, was entirely inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The rising discontent expressed itself in strikes and in sizable votes against the settlement. Sections of the UAW skilled trades workers have also voted in National Labor Relations Board elections to leave the UAW in favor of AFL craft or independent unions. The Ford Motor Company patternmaker group has switched to the AFL Pattern Makers Union. The die-sinkers at the Oldsmobile Forge Plant in Lansing and the Chevrolet Forge Plant in Detroit voted for an independent die-sinkers union in preference to the UAW. Actual defection through the route of NLRB elections has been limited primarily by the fact that under NLRB practice such elections are barred during the life of a collective bargaining agreement. These few elections lost by the UAW had been requested prior to the expiration of the UAW five-year contracts.

But the UAW leadership is on thin ice if it persists in trying to keep the loyalty of its skilled members by relying on NLRB machinery. The precariousness of its present position is seen in the mushroom growth of the Society of Skilled Trades. The Society has a straight, narrow craft union approach. It motivates its claim for wage increases primarily on the "need to re-establish the historical relationship" with production workers. It expands the policy of the UAW skilled trades groups of erecting impassable barriers to prevent production workers from entering and "diluting" the trade. In many plants of the UAW in Detroit the Society operates openly, soliciting membership, collecting dues, distributing its publication, etc. Reports indicate that if it were possible to hold elections under NLRB procedures now, the UAW would lose its bargaining rights for skilled workers in hundreds of plants.

The only answer the UAW leadership has provided up to now has been threats of disciplinary sanctions. In a number of instances, trial-board action against active leaders of the dual movement have been initiated at the prompting of the international union. In each case charges have been dropped, as the elected trial committees have been composed almost exclusively of supporters of the new society. In spite of the growing danger, the top leadership continues with the big-stick approach. Only a few weeks ago, the Detroit and Wayne County Skilled Trades Council was ordered to desist in its demand for a ten percent wage increase for the skilled workers even though it has repudiated the dual union movement.

GIVEN the present competitive society we live in, the UAW cannot justify wage rates for its skilled workers that are lower than those received by others for comparable work. It is obvious that the union is in for serious trouble unless a positive program is developed to meet the needs of these workers. In addition, support of the skilled workers' demands—and a breakthrough on their behalf—opens the door for further economic gains for all UAW members. In large measure, it was the pressure of the skilled trades group which compelled revision of the previous five-year contracts and the development of the concept that the contract was a "living document." The international officers understand the legitimacy of the skilled group demands, but they are afraid to reopen the three-year contracts so soon after adoption, as that would lead to a whole series of new demands by all auto workers, and make inevitable sharp struggles with the auto corporations.

But the policy of stalling is no alternative, and can seriously disrupt the solidarity of the auto union. Already the craft tendencies of the skilled workers are finding certain dangerous outlets. Unable to resolve what they feel to be an unjust wage inequity, and haunted by memories of the plight of skilled tradesmen in depression days, the craftsmen are attempting to win security for themselves by building a fence around the skilled trades. Their pressure has resulted in contracts calling for increasingly stringent requirements for breaking into the skilled trades, so that it has become almost impossible for a production worker to become a skilled trades worker. In those rare instances when a production man breaks through and enters the skilled trades, he is compelled to forfeit a considerable part of his previous seniority. Present practices in the UAW are even more severe than in many of the old-line AFL unions.

While the skilled workers get less than their AFL craft counterparts, they constitute nevertheless an elite group compared to UAW workers on the production lines. This is true because of considerably higher hourly wages and superior working conditions. Furthermore, almost without exception, skilled workers have had not only full employment but a lot of overtime employment. Annual wages of $8,000 based on a 48-hour week are not uncommon in captive shops, and in the jobbing shops skilled tradesmen earned even more. This contrasts with the less-than-$4,000 wage of the production worker.

THE insistence of the skilled trades department of the UAW and the newly organized Society of Skilled Trades upon a full apprenticeship program and a journeyman card for all entrants into the trades comes at a time when the skilled trades themselves are disintegrating. As has been the case with the development of the labor process generally, the skilled trades too have been broken down into specialized subdivisions. Each subdivision requires less skill and break-in time than the trade as a whole. All-around toolmakers are becoming increasingly a thing of the past. In their place we have specialists on various machines and sub-divisions in bench work.

The program of the skilled tradesmen to construct a secure job trust for themselves is thus running up against technological developments, and due to be further breached by automation. One interesting aspect of the recent contract negotiations with General Motors Corporation was the inclusion of a much improved seniority arrangement for the entrance of production workers into skilled trades. The contract also contained a detailed schedule breakdown for the various trades indicating time on job required to achieve full rights in the classification. In every case time requirements were substantially lower than called for under the UAW apprenticeship program. This agreement is directly contrary to the policy of the Skilled Trades Department of the UAW and was obviously included at the insistence of the corporation to meet its anticipated needs for skilled workers in the period ahead. This part of the agreement has also been greeted with anger and resistance by skilled workers, so that for the present, it remains a dead letter.

The relationship of skilled trades to production workers and vice versa is an acute internal working-class problem. The unions will be able to solve the job problems arising from the spread of automation only by a policy of increasing flexibility, permitting and demanding easy movement of workers from production to skilled jobs, rather than trying to erect steel fences around skilled trades that are rapidly changing in character. The union has not been aggressive in fighting for training programs so that production workers can be properly prepared to perform the new duties born of automation. The refresher and in-job-training programs during the war demonstrated that thousands of workers can rapidly be trained for all kinds of skilled work.

The problem, as can readily be seen, is complex, many-sided and difficult of solution. It certainly cannot be solved by the present policy of the UAW leaders to threaten and attempt to intimidate the skilled workers, while catering to some of their restrictive demands. The answer must be along the lines of tying the interests of the production and skilled-trades workers together in a struggle against the employers. This means full backing of the legitimate wage demands of the skilled workers, and at the same time supporting the right of production workers to fair and unimpeded opportunities to enter the skilled trades. Journeymen cards in the auto union are an anachronism. The only card required should be a union card.

You pull the switch. You throw the clutch.
You pull the counter that says how much.
You clamp in two and take out two.
You pull the counter and boss does too.
You laugh at him. He just wants more.
You got a union. You know the score.
For here at the Ford reservation,
We got a thing called Automation.
Brother, grieve not; It's play with pay.
That's what the business scribes all say.

For we are told that Automation
Has made of work a relaxation.
We went to school; we learned a skill
Now all we do is a fixture fill.
We clamp in two. We watch the score.
Who knows, tomorrow it may be more.
For here at the Ford reservation
We got a thing called Automation.
You clamp in two and look down the line.
Where have they gone, that old gang of mine?

—Ford *Enlightener,* July 1953.

A Debate Over a Book Points up the Crisis of Western Communism

THE events which have transpired in Russia since Stalin's death have been followed with passionate interest and ever-growing excitement in France. Intellectuals who had believed the future of socialism to be shrouded by totalitarianism began to stir with hope: A self-imposed silence was broken and people were saying things they had never before expected to hear themselves say. In wide circles the big questions were again being asked. If communism, which had proved the practicality of a planned non-profit economy, could liberate itself from dogma and dictatorship what reason was there to resist its advent in France? In the very center of this bubbling ferment, the French Communist Party maintained a most lofty indifference. It neither saw nor heard nor spoke of what to it was "evil"—emanating from the Soviet Union of all places!

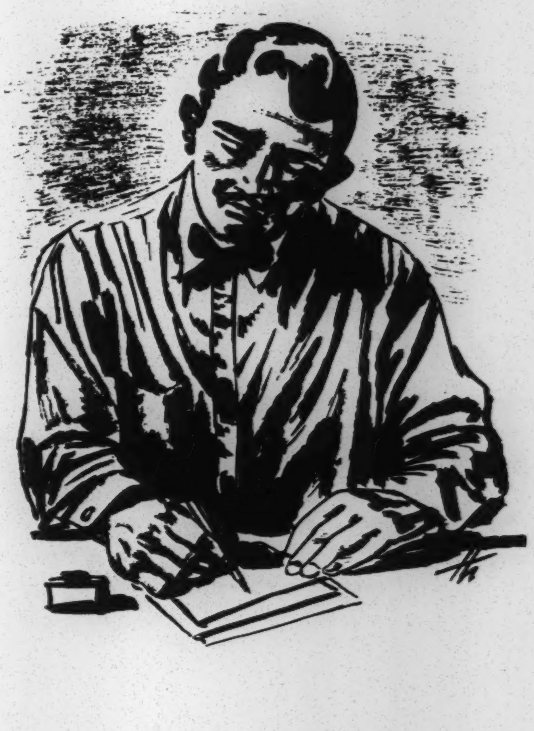
In the middle of January, the charmed circle was broken by the publication of Pierre Herve's book "The Revolution and Fetishes." The book, an attack on the dogmatism of French communism and on its failure to recognize the changes in the Soviet Union, became a political sensation, its repercussions still continuing. The author, after a distinguished record in the Resistance, had risen to be one of the outstanding young leaders of the French CP after the liberation, a Communist member of parliament, an associate editor of the party's daily, *l'Humanité*, and other influential positions.

SOME two weeks after publication, Herve was roundly lambasted in *l'Humanité* in true Stalinist manner by a literary hack, Guy Besse. Besse said the book takes its place "in the abundant literary production of the crudest most banal anti-communism." He did not believe "Dulles could have dreamed of a more docile commentator." A few weeks later, on February 14, the Central Committee of the CP, to everyone's astonishment, expelled Herve. His book was the expression of "vulgar opportunism," of "the most patent capitulation before the policy of imperialism." Herve had "embraced the anti-communist slanders." He had also violated party procedure by not first submitting the "libelous" book to appropriate party committees before publication. To this they added a vague personal smear concerning a "long-standing complaint" against Herve's conduct in private life.

The astonishment referred to above was genuine, therefore significant. There prevailed a kind of naive belief that the more democratic spirit in the Soviet Union would automatically be carried over into French Communism. This was mixed with an irritation against party leaders who seemed to be resisting the liberal course. In this sense Herve spoke the mind of a multitude and immediately won support. Shortly before the expulsion, the editor of *l'Humanité* replied to a letter—without publishing it, of course—of a well-known Communist writer, Claude Morgan, who vigorously objected to the dishonest polemics the paper had used against Herve. The Communist Party unit to which Herve belonged refused to ask for his expulsion, the procedure usually employed in disciplinary action, but he was expelled just the same.

A few days later, the sensational news from the Russian Communist congress began to fill the press. The French Communist leaders were obviously embarrassed to hear from the rostrum of the mother party the very words they had always treated as "anti-communist slanders." But they quickly regained their composure. The bourgeois press, they declared, was deliberately emphasizing these internal matters to avoid the more important news regarding economic achievements. Some mistakes had been made which were now being rectified. Personal leadership was being replaced by collective leadership. In effect, nothing had changed for them but the catch-phrases. Appropriate quotations were culled from Khrushchev's report to refute the commentaries in the "anti-Soviet press from *Figaro* to *France-Observateur*". The very bracketing of the two papers showed how little had yet changed in what Herve had called a theological mentality.

What hurt most was the widespread comment that the Twentieth Congress had upheld Herve's stand. No! No! that was going too far! The Congress was "Leninist," Herve had broken party discipline. . . . The bourgeoisie "could make a hero of Herve" but "after all" it was a



little too much to ask the CP to reinstate him. They meant to say, undoubtedly, that those who had been rehabilitated, Antonov, Kossior, Bela Kun, the liquidated leaders of the Polish CP, were dead; Herve unfortunately was alive.

The position of the independent Left stated by Gilles Martinet, editor-in-chief of *France-Observateur,* is worth reproducing at length:

> *Some leaders of the French Communist Party seem frightened by the evolution of Soviet policy, not because it pushes them to a more flexible attitude toward the socialists and the "Mendèsist" bourgeoisie, but because this evolution calls into question their own principles of leadership and their own methods.*
>
> *Some French Communist leaders have got the habit of repeating that people would like to see them stop being Communists (which they naturally refuse to do). This accusation doesn't apply to us. But it is true that we, like many on the Left, would like to see them become less and less Stalinist!*
>
> *For years we had hoped the French Communist Party would assume the same freedom of movement as the Chinese party or the Yugoslav party and, without altering the solidarity which binds it to Soviet policy, would less frequently embrace the inevitable zig-zags of that policy. Today we would be tempted to ask it to follow them as closely as possible!*
>
> *That however would not be a very serious position. Independence is not acquired on order any more than freedom is exported at the point of a bayonet. What is extremely positive in the Soviet "new course" is precisely the possibility it allows to foreign Communist parties to* themselves *discover an original road* to socialism *(and not merely to a temporary parliamentary majority). This is an encouragement to define common positions in the whole of the western socialist and communist movements and to thus prepare the reconstitution of that* working-class unity *without which a victory cannot be envisaged in France, in Italy and in the rest of Europe.*
>
> *This unity will not be achieved by means of soothing, amiable phrases and declarations of good intentions. It will not be achieved on the basis of a rallying of Stalinism to, or of an alignment of its positions with those of, the narrow reformism of the social democracy. It will be forged through great struggles and at the price of frank and loyal debates.*
>
> *That the French Communists do not yet permit genuine discussion within their own party—as the Herve case proves—is their own affair. But if they want to utilize the immense opportunities opened to them by the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, they must accept this discussion with their allies. Little matter that at the beginning the tone is rough or friendly. What counts is that an end be put to certain methods. To demand that they openly recognize who was wrong and who right in the discussion on the economic program of the CGT is not a "provocative act." To say that the recent writings of Maurice Thorez contain serious errors is not an "anti-communist calumny"!*
>
> *Sooner or later it will be necessary to face this debate. Sooner or later it will be necessary to accept these democratic methods. The sooner the better.*

IT can be seen from the above commentary that Herve's book called forth the most varied and opposite reactions. Marxists were happy to read the scathing attack on Stalinism for having degraded Marxism to a religion, the Communist Party to a church and its intellectuals to priests of a revealed doctrine. It didn't matter too much that Herve, to make his criticism more palatable for Stalinists, tried to keep Stalin on the side of the angels, nor that by devious philosophical discourse, as casuistical in its reasoning as that of the high priests he was condemning, he sought to justify Stalinism historically—in fact through the mouth of Lenin himself! That, and Herve himself, are less important than the action. He had dared to say what many others had been thinking and still feared to say. It was enough that he pointed to the evil and did it at a moment when the climate of opinion was favorable to heresy.

Sartre found the occasion appropriate to speak more bluntly to the CP leaders than he has in recent years: "For us [the intellectuals] Marxism is not only a philosophy: it is the climate of our ideas, the stuff on which they feed. . . . We see in it the cultural property of the Left; more: Since the death of bourgeois thought, it alone is Culture, for only it permits an understanding of men, works, events . . . the bourgeoisie is in the process of abandoning culture; its ideas wither in contact with Marxism without the Marxists raising their little finger; when these philosophers try to refute the enemy thought they find it lodged in themselves. We would like to tell the party intellectuals: This astonishing virility is that of Marx, of Lenin, of an ideology constantly strengthened by history; it is not yours, and yet, if Communist thought decided to flourish it would meet no resistance." And yet, he says "the Marxist universe is full of deserts, of unexplored lands." The self-proclaimed Marxists write nothing

of substance about political economy, capitalist or socialist, about history, philosophy, psychology, ethnology, etc. They are on the "defensive," "reaffirming principles and warding off attacks." While Sartre deliberately ignores the work of independent Marxist intellectuals, his conclusion is nevertheless a valuable one:

> *Between the latest hocus-pocus of a bourgeoisie which has lost its pride and the obstinate silence of the Communist intellectuals, French culture is* crumbling to ruin; *we intellectuals live in a rarefied atmosphere; nothing moves. Nowhere. Without oxygen, we feel ourselves suffocating. And don't say that what we are demanding . . . is an "open" Marxism. We demand nothing of Marxism except that it* live, *that it shake off its criminal torpor to provide to all uncompromisingly what it should provide.*

HAD Herve confined himself to a critique of the dogmas of Stalinism and of the pretended infallibility of its priesthood, his book might have had a totally progressive effect. It would have placed the CP leaders in the embarrassing position of having to reconcile approval of reform in Russia with resistance to it in their own party in France. *France-Observateur* evidently had this in mind when in its pre-publication preview of Herve's book it limited its very lengthy extracts almost entirely to the above question. Unfortunately that was not all that Herve said.

Instead of re-evaluating the historical facts, as a Marxist would have done, Herve jumped over the causes to their effects and found his explanation for the degeneration of the Communist movement in ideology. In this he was following the lead from the Russian leaders who are attributing the ills of the past decades to the "leader cult" without analyzing the causes which produced that monstrosity. Herve theorized that an idea which truthfully reflects the reality of a certain epoch and is also a means of moving men to action—therefore an ideology—lingers into another epoch when the reality changes. But the ideology having become a vested material interest now distorts the new reality instead of reflecting and explaining it, and hence becomes a "fetish," an impediment to scientific thought.

Mimicking the Russian "fetishes," the Communist intellectuals had made themselves a laughing stock in France. But Herve also found that French Communism had developed its own peculiar "fetish" by hanging on to the ideology of the revolution. Hence the title of the book which is not "Stalinism and its Fetishes" but "The Revolution and Its Fetishes." The new reality, according to Herve, in which the outlived ideology lingers on is the emergence of several socialist nations on the one side and of thermonuclear weapons on the other. Since a revolution in France might precipitate a war which would necessarily involve the Soviet bloc, and therefore compromise the development to socialism, and since France is too small geographically to survive the destruction, the idea of revolution should be re-evaluated; it should be avoided even if conditions were ripe for it. Herve found the "dialectical" alternative to the "revolutionary fetish" in "different roads to socialism" than that of October 1917.

This side of the book inevitably became the center of interest and discussion. Obviously for French society, traversing a social crisis, how the French Communists think—interesting and important as that may be—is decidedly secondary to what French Communism does. The parliamentary road is more felicitous, more desirable than that of civil war, but it is still a road to revolution. Herve, however, had dissociated aim from method. His conservative publishers called attention to this fact in their announcement on the back-cover of the book where they compared the author to Luther, saying that "if communists and non-communists so desired 'Revolution and Fetishes' could become the occasion not for a showdown but for a clarification and beyond that for a rapprochement." Other bourgeois commentators believed—or at least hoped—that Herve had divined the precise, and official, meaning of Khrushchev's remarks on the plural roads to socialism.

THIS turn of the discussion let the Communist Party leaders get off the hook. Duclos, returning from Moscow, reported to a closed party meeting in Paris where he said that Herve's ideas found no warrant in the deliberations of the Twentieth Congress of the Russian CP. On the contrary, "the party was perfectly right in throwing out of its ranks a man who, basically, had no other preoccupation than to advocate a policy of capitulation before the forces of war, to advocate the substitution of reformism for the class struggle and to attempt to establish a platform for the liquidation of the ideological and organizational bases of the party of the working class."

For Duclos, but for a few flaws in personality and for some errors in "certain theses," Stalin's role in history remains unchanged, and he concluded his address by the type of invocation—"faithful to the great ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin"—that had been so conspicuously absent at the Russian Congress. There is here a glaring difference between the comments of Polish and East German communist leaders—who would surely fit into his category of "enemies of Communism"—and those of Duclos. Obviously this is explained by the far more lengthy association of Duclos and other French CP leaders with Stalin and their more abject dependence on him than was the case with some of the parties elsewhere. One of the merits of Stalin, said Duclos significantly in this regard, was the role played by Stalin "in the formation and development of the Communist parties." Duclos' touching loyalty is understandable: He owes his position to Stalin, he is tarred by the same colossal errors and unspeakable methods.

AND I will war, at least in words (and should
My chance so happen—deeds), with all who war
With thought;—and of thought's foes by far most rude
Tyrants and sycophants have been and are.
I know not who may conquer: if I could
Have such a prescience, it should be no bar
To this my plain, sworn downright detestation
Of every despotism in every nation.
—Lord Bryon

Notebook of an Old-Timer

by George H. Shoaf

Fifty Years Ago and Today

ONE day in the year 1905, in his office in Girard, Kansas, J. A. Wayland, publisher of *The Appeal to Reason,* famous socialist weekly, said to the writer, "George, Socialism will not make much headway in this country until it is fought bitterly by its adversaries the publicity agents and agencies in the employ of the capitalist class." While Wayland was not an orator like Debs, he knew his economics, and above all he was intensely practical in his understanding of the temperament of the American people, and what it took to awaken them from their lethargy and arouse them to action.

Fifty years have passed since Wayland made that statement. In the light of recent developments, I have often pondered the implications of what he said. Consider the situation as it existed in the United States at that time. American capitalism apparently functioned on a basis of unassailable security. True, it had gone through cyclical periods of boom, bust, depression, and war, but each time it emerged with renewed strength and energy to repeat the process. So sure were its proponents and beneficiaries of its perpetual continuance that they regarded socialists and their agitation with ridicule and contempt. Populism, at first looked upon as a possible menace, had withered on the vine, as it were, and despite vehement oratory from platforms across the country and fiery editorials in the Populist press, the Republic of the Founding Fathers remained unshaken, and in the citadel of capitalism in Wall Street, New York, malefactors of wealth held high jinks.

Because of their faith in the American way of life, and because of their wealth, power and social prestige, gained by acting in conformity with the principles and procedure of that way of life, the bigwigs of capitalism did not interfere to anything like the present extent with the Constitutional privileges and guarantees respecting free speech, free press and free public assemblage. "Let the socialist crackpots write and speak as they please. They will never get anywhere in this country. Socialism won't work. We have nothing to fear from their agitation and propaganda."

Fifty years ago the people in this country enjoyed the semblance if not the substance of democracy. They were not taxed to the limit of endurance to supply funds to maintain a standing army, navy and air force, and to provide military equipment with which to wage an anticipated foreign war. Small business and small industry, small farm ownership and operation, still constituted an important part of the domestic economy. Individual initiative was encouraged and, if successful, was correspondingly rewarded. Western public lands were still open to settlement and development, and thousands of workers in the East and South who, for one reason or another, had lost their jobs, went West and grew up with the country.

Today, the landed areas have been taken over by private owners, largely under corporate ownership, fenced in, with the public notified to keep out. In those days a family with wagon and team could go off the road and camp free from molestation of any kind. Today, an auto with a trailer attached is forced to take refuge in a privately owned trailer camp, and pay for the privilege. Tramps, an exclusive American speciality, could beg from door to door, and sleep under bridges without being deprived of these rights by officers of the law. It was still an accepted theory that every American boy, if he was ambitious and diligently applied himself, could become either a millionaire or President of the United States.

WHILE life was comparatively free and easy in the early years of the present century, with country people redolent with a simplicity that provoked quips and jokes on the part of their city cousins, in the last analysis it appeared to be more real and earnest than it is today. Advocates of religion—Protestant preachers—exhorted with a sincerity and singleness of purpose visibly absent in the mouthings of modern pulpiteers. Now and then an occasional politician seemed to be on the square when he addressed his constituents. Personal journalism was freely indulged to the delight, if not the edification, of magazine and newspaper readers.

However, the social process continued, as it has since men began group living. Small industries, oil companies, banks, transportation companies were swallowed up by the emerging economic giants. Today we have chain stores, chain banks, bonanza farms, great factories and plants, many of which have merged to form monopoly trusts and combines. In the presence of this concentrated wealth and power what became of the ancient freedom vouchsafed Americans by the Founding Fathers? Who now has the opportunity to disengage himself from his fellow-morons and express himself through individual initiative in achieving material success? To cap the climax of development, automation has been introduced, and threatens to step up production with a vastly decreased labor force. The menace here involved, as yet, is unappreciated by most workers, but when automation gets down to where they live, and they realize what they are up against, unquestionably they will get the shock of their lives.

With the inauguration of monopoly capitalism began the disappearance of democracy. The first sensational suppression of free speech, press and assemblage occurred in the incipient stages of the first world war when 50,000 opponents of war—Socialists and pacifists—were rounded up and jailed. Because of their loans to the British

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Mr. Shoaf was an editor and the famed "war correspondent" of the *Appeal to Reason.*

government, Wall Street magnates could not afford to permit Britain to lose the war. So, in the name of freedom and democracy, the war to end war was fought and won, and the money of the magnates was saved. But at what a sacrifice of the principles of old-fashioned Americanism was that war fought!

IT would appear that with their possession of weath and political power, their command of press, radio, television and other agents and agencies of communication and information, the malefactors of weath would feel so secure they would ignore domestic radical agitation, permit socialists and communists to howl their heads off, and call off the Committees of Investigation whose activities circumvent democracy, nullify the Bill of Rights, and make Americanism a byword for terrorism and hatred among the nations of the earth. There are reasons however, for the opposite attitude on the part of Wall Street.

Fact of the matter, capitalism is collapsing, and is on its way out. This statement will appear strange to doctors, dentists, and other professionals who charge and get high fees for their services. Never having given the development of the social process a thought, limiting their intellectual activities to acquiring effiency in their professions, these cultured men and women simply do not know what it is all about. They imagine what is should not only be as it is, but will endure forever. They ignore or forget the cyclical booms and busts of American economy in their thinking, if they think. To the millions of workers in the factories and on the farms this statement will also appear strange. They, too, unversed in the social process, and never having "had it so good" in their previous efforts in earning a living, are obsessed by the fiction that present prosperity will last until the end of time.

But the magnates of Wall Street are not deceived. They are aware that capitalist economy is in grave danger. They wish to preserve their wealth, their privileges and power. They are willing to adopt any course that will assure their continued rule. Their pronouncements of patriotic allegiance to the American flag and their fervent adherence to the principles promulgated by Jesus Christ are one hundred per cent bunk. The god of their idolatry is the Almighty Dollar to get and worship which they will sacrifice the institutions of democracy and reduce the common people of this country to sheer servitude.

They know, despite the asseverations of their agents of publicity, including politicians and preachers, to the contrary, that if civilization is to continue, it must function under some form of collectivism, that if collectivism displaces capitalism, they are through. Across the world they behold half of it going socialist. They have witnessed the transformation of Czarist Russia from a feudal economy into a socialist one. They are aware of the miracle that has occurred in China. They are cognizant of the fact that increasing numbers of Europeans and Asians, disillusioned, are going left instead of toward the right. To them this is a frightening phenomenon, and they are scared.

In the United States they sense that behind the strikes for higher wages and better conditions by working men and women, and more strikes to come as economic conditions worsen, lurks a growing awareness on the part of the organized workers, and a general awakening of the people, to the social and economic injustice inherent in American capitalism, and that many workers and many people are becoming resentful. Americans are tired of war, and want none of it. They are exasperated because of being taxed so severely to keep war factories and plants operating in preparation for a war they do not want to fight. But as owners of the industrial, commercial, and financial life of the nation, and rulers of the political life of the people because of their ownership, the bigwigs of capitalism, to save themselves from extinction, are determined to have their way. Hence, in recent years, the witch-hunt.

THOUGHT control has become a popular fixture. Although people continue to investigate, and think, few dare to express their thoughts aloud. With the virtual extirpation of the Communist Party, with membership in that party made a punishable crime, and the apparent impossibility of resurrecting the Socialist Party, it looks as if the American electorate will be reduced to the servility of having to vote for the two parties of capitalism—the Republican and Democratic—or remain away from the polls on election day. What American could or would have contemplated such a situation in this country fifty years ago!

Workers are not so ignorant and gullible as the masters of capitalism think. They may not cry their resentment from the housetops, but get into their homes, as this writer has done, and what they say would be revealing and astonishing to the magnates who rule this country. These workers are beginning to inform themselves through the procession of events. They are reading between the lines of the capitalist press. And what they read and think bodes no good for the exploiting classes.

Today, as others have said, and well said, with Americans it is a race between education and catastrophe. The American people, giving the lie to John Foster Dulles, are in no mood to fight a war, supposedly to save democracy from dictatorship, but actually to preserve the property of plutocracy and to perpetuate a social and economic order which privileges the rich to rule and exploit the poor, especially when they know that the finish of the war will consign to extinction perhaps half the human race. In the face of the impending crisis no more hopeful word can be imparted to those resisting fascism and war than to step up their activity in the matter of carrying the message of socialism to as many people as they can personally reach.

A STATE which dwarfs its men in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for a beneficial purpose will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished.

—John Stuart Mill

The Choice of Doctors

by Jay W. Friedman

The March 1956 *American Socialist,* in the Opinions pages, carried a criticism by Dr. Hans Freistadt of one aspect of an article on cooperative medicine by Dr. Jay W. Friedman in our February 1956 issue. Dealing with the matter of free choice of physicians in socialized medical setups, Dr. Freistadt said: "But Dr. Friedman apparently is *against* such free choice," and stated as his own view that "We can socialize medicine, make medical personnel salaried employees of a socialist government, decommercialize the physician-patient relationship, encourage group practice—and still maintain and extend the principle of free choice of physician." Dr. Friedman's reply follows.

DR. Freistadt's criticism (March 1956) of my article "Pioneering in Cooperative Medicine" (February 1956) is based upon the completely erroneous assumption that I am against free choice of doctors by patients. Actually there is little difference between Dr. Freistadt's views and mine. The term "free choice," however, is unfortunate. We only get what we pay for and freedom of choice exists only for those fortunate individuals who can afford to pay for their choice. A man earning $50 a week cannot choose a Park Avenue doctor. He is strictly limited in his choice—if he has any choice at all. The ultimate aim of socialism is simply to broaden man's economic base through the cooperative pooling of his resources so that he can truly have a choice—not "free" choice because he will be paying for it—but any choice.

There are certainly valid reasons why an individual should have the right to choose his doctor. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these reasons would be predicated on philosophic idealism regarding the rights of man. In the light of twentieth century knowledge the rationale is based on sound psychiatric principles. Conflicting personalities between doctor and patient will negate much of therapy. A happy, secure relationship must be maintained between the doctor and the patient if treatment is to be of maximum benefit. Therefore both the patient *and* the doctor must maintain their rights of choice. It is precisely these rights which will be best preserved in cooperative group health programs. A large panel of doctors assures both the patient and the doctor this "free" choice.

Dr. Freistadt objected to my statement that "A lay person . . . is hardly qualified to choose a good doctor." He misconstrued this as an argument against "free" choice—which it most certainly is not. Modern health care is based on teamwork amongst all the specialties. A lay person chooses a general practitioner because he likes him and has confidence in him. This confidence is determined in large part by the personality of the doctor, his apparent integrity and thoroughness. Yet, it is estimated that 50 percent of man's illness (exclusive of dental ills) will cure itself without treatment. The other 50 percent taxes the resources and ingenuity of modern doctors. When the doctor says, "I want you to see a specialist," he rarely gives you a choice. He refers you to a particular doctor. He does not depend upon the lay person's judgment, which is more often than not based upon a father-figure transference. He chooses this particular specialist because he has intimate knowledge of his competence based upon his own professional judgment and experience.

DR. Freistadt believes "that with a modicum of reading and inquiry into a physician's training, accreditation and reputation in the community an intelligent layman can find not only a good practitioner, but also the one who is best *for him.*" This is true in a few instances but my general experience does not bear it out. More important, it is not true for too many individuals. How many highly intelligent people continue to smoke cigarettes? How many highly intelligent people continue to oppose fluoridation? How many highly intelligent people oppose world government and socialism? To illustrate the fallacy of Dr. Freistadt's approach I cite the commercial airplane pilot. We do not expect the traveler—well read or not—to be competent in choosing a good pilot. We invest our trust in aeronautical authorities whose responsibility it is to examine and re-examine the qualifications and capabilities of the pilots in whose hands our lives fly. These examiners are not made up of lay persons who have read a few books. We place our faith in trained authorities. By no means do I imply one should not read and ask questions and develop personal judgment, nor do I intend that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." Rather I insist a few books and a little inquiry into academic background does not make of man a competent judge!

As regards "assigned physicians," nowhere in my article did I state that doctors would be assigned under socialized medicine. That fact that I do not believe lay persons are capable of choosing good doctors except as their personalities prove compatible should not and does not imply lay persons must not have a choice. Compatibility of personalities is sufficient reason to preserve the rights of choice and I certainly agree with Dr. Freistadt that "Socialism seeks to plan the economy; but the aim of the planning is greater freedom, more choice, and less regimentation at the level of everyday life."

A Page from Socialist History

by Harvey O'Connor

Harvey O'Connor

I WAS reading your review of Shannon's book on socialism (April 1956), when all of a sudden I struck a rock. The jolting sentence was:

"Further on, the Washington State left-wingers, who were extremists, and distinctive in their opposition to immediate-reform demands, are falsely portrayed as representing the thinking of the SP left wing."

As editor of the *International Weekly* and managing editor of the Seattle *Daily Call,* both official organs of the Seattle Socialist Party, I can't recall any basis for your sentence. Everything you say is I suppose somewhat true. We were "extremists" if by that you mean revolutionary Marxists who had nothing but contempt for Hillquit milk-and-water socialism. But for the life of me, this failing old memory-cage of mine can't remember any argument we ever had with the Socialist left wing, of which we were an integral part. The arguments were all with the right wing, and I for one never heard of any serious theoretical split with the rest of the left wing so far as we were concerned. Moreover there was nothing distinctive about us, except that we were thoroughly working-class, with very little middle-class membership, a powerful influence in the union movement and active as all get-out in everything that went on.

We "extremists" at the time of the split all went into the Farmer Labor Party, formed by the unions and the Grange. Only the Russian Federation went into the Communist, or Communist Labor Party, and for years the Russians were all there was to the Communist movement in Seattle. As they had always been apart from the English-speaking socialists, they had meant little to us anyway. The Socialist Party disappeared for several years, not being re-created as I remember it until about 1922 when some of the old-time reformists, who had had a small local in Seattle, as well as some locals elsewhere in the state, came together again. In my active years in the Seattle labor movement from 1920 to 1924, when I left, I had actually never seen or talked to a Communist except for the aforesaid Russians.

I have no idea on what Shannon based his report that the SP of Washington State was in general agreement with the SP left wing, but it is true. The *International Socialist Magazine* (I believe that was the name of the Chicago paper of the left wing) was our paper too.

PERHAPS there is some idea that because many of us also carried Wobbly cards that therefore we were semi-anarchist or something. The truth is that many of the Wobbly sectarians objected to having Socialists in the IWW, but in general we got along fine because we were too busy to quarrel over silly anarchist ideas. Anyway anarchism never meant much to the Wobblies in the Pacific Northwest; they were non-political mainly by the force of circumstances, they were migratories of the logging camps and harvests and couldn't have voted even if they had wanted to. I remember being surprised when I hit the East Coast in 1916-1917 to find that many of the Wobs were anarchists. They were a different breed of cat from us.

The Seattle *Daily Call* existed in 1917-1918 and was silenced when the Chamber of Commerce got some drunken sailors (U. S. Navy) to bust up the print shop. The *International Weekly* followed in 1918-1919, and was closed by the FBI after my famous headline:

CAPITALISM TOTTERING

in boxcar type across the front page. I've been leery of predicting capitalism's immediate demise every since.

[I was referring to the earlier Washington left wing led by Dr. Herman F. Titus, editor of the Seattle *Socialist*. Dr. Titus was a remarkable man and an important figure of the national left wing of the time, but he was inclined to be an extremist on some questions. The fight between the left and right wings came to a head in Washington in 1909, three years before the national split. The left wing refused to participate in the Everett convention and set up its own organization. As the National Executive Committee recognized the other side, the left wingers found themselves outside of the Socialist Party. Some joined the IWW. Titus organized the Wage Workers Party, which only lasted about a year.—B. C.]

Racists Gaining in the North?

by Michigan Reader

WHILE the attention of the entire country is turned to the atrocities committed by the white supremacists of the South, it will be helpful for uncompromising advocates of full equality to observe and define trends in the North as well. Here conditions are far from a civil rights Garden of Eden. Racial prejudice has strong roots in the North, and has been growing and spreading—at least so it seems to us.

Confirmation of this observation was made by Representative Charles Diggs, Jr., of Michigan. The *Pittsburgh Courier* stated in its January 28 issue that "Diggs also said if the people of the United States do not deal forthrightly with bias as represented in Mississippi it will take 'hold of the whole country.' "

During the entire controversy and especially since the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation, the defiant, illegal stand of the racists in the South contrasts with the weak paper defense of the labor leaders and the liberals. The forces of bigotry have not been met with an equal and opposite force. For this reason bigotry has grown in the North.

We must consider the effect, for example, on the Northern white population when Eastland, the most rabid of the Dixiecrats, with a long record of Negro and labor hating and baiting, is made chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee by both major parties, a committee which is charged among other things with "carrying out" the Supreme Court ruling, as well as civil rights, civil liberties and justice in general. It is like appointing a top Nazi to supervise abolition of anti-Semitism and anti-unionism. It serves to fan prejudice, because prejudice becomes official.

Nor is the house of labor doing enough to warrant praise on this score. Their formal sermons on behalf of equal rights are paid scant attention by the white population, because their deeds are far behind their words. Reuther's National Executive Board is still a lily-white board.

Until and unless the broad mass labor and liberal movements realize that the aims of the NAACP affect not only the Negroes but the destiny of the unions and democracy in its entirety, prejudice in the North continues to grow and the whole country becomes more contaminated. America is at its point in history once more where the country can no longer be half free and half slave—half segregated and half de-segregated.

The crying need of the hour is the emergence of a modern Abolitionist-type movement to act as the conscience of the country, and spur the mass movement on to deeds on behalf of universal democracy. The liberals have clearly failed. The left-wing socialist forces must begin to fill the breach.

Much Ado About "Socialism" in the Milwaukee Elections

by Robert Henderson

Milwaukee

ON April 3rd Milwaukeeans went to the polls and re-elected Mayor Frank P. Zeidler to a third term by a comfortable majority in a non-partisan election. Elsewhere in the country the election of a Socialist Party member might have been an upset, but in the last half-century Milwaukee's mayor has been a Socialist more often than not.

Despite the efforts of his opponents to make his SP membership a central issue, Zeidler's victory was a personal rather than a party one. There were no other SP members running for office and Zeidler's backing came largely from labor unions and the Democratic Party.

Zeidler prefers to describe himself as a "social democrat" rather than a socialist. In a speech during the campaign he defined social democracy as "people cooperating in the spirit of brotherhood to produce progress in life." He has also said, "I have never been, and am not now, a 'Marxian Socialist.' Instead I believe that the broad principles of democracy should prevail in the political, social, and industrial order. I do not subscribe to these main concepts of Marx—the Hegelian dialectic, the materialist concept of history, and the inevitability of socialism."

A British Labor Party MP after an interview with Zeidler asked, "How can that man call himself Socialist? He hasn't had a new socialist idea since 1848!"

Unlike many social democrats who go through a radical phase in their youth, Zeidler has held his views with remarkable constancy throughout his political life. His rapid rise in the party (he became Milwaukee County secretary in 1938 when only 25) resulted from his being the only active party member of his generation who shared wholeheartedly the views of Milwaukee's party mossbacks. Alone among SP leaders Zeidler opposed SP entry into the La Follette Progressive Party in the thirties, and when the SP finally cut itself adrift from the disintegrating Progressive Party in 1942 Zeidler stood almost alone in retaining SP membership. The bulk of the SP politicos left the Progressive Party for successful careers in the Democratic or Republican Parties; e.g., former Socialist Andrew Biemiller served three times as Democratic congressman while ex-Socialist John Brophy served one term as a Republican congressman.

By 1948 when Zeidler was first elected mayor the SP had collapsed around him. His personal victory failed to arrest the party's decline. In 1950 it lost its place on the ballot and in 1952 failed to get a candidate for governor on the ballot as an independent. Subsequently the SP has abandoned efforts to get on the ballot.

ZEIDLER'S eight years in office have been regarded as successful in orthodox capitalist good-government circles. The city's reputation for clean government remains unsullied. New public buildings are rising, the city's area has increased through a vigorous annexation program and far from least in Zeidler's eyes, Milwaukee is a leader in Civilian Defense planning.

Among his honors Zeidler is proudest of his selection in 1948 by the Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the nation's ten outstanding young men.

In view of all this it is hard to see how Zeidler's opponent Milton McGuire and Hearst's Milwaukee *Sentinel* could expect to make socialism the big issue in the campaign. The first shot in the anti-socialist drive was the appearance of a "Milwaukee for America Committee." The committee published a pamphlet "Think, Milwaukee Voters!" The pamphlet attempted to shock the citizenry with quotes from old SP platforms and speeches by Zeidler. For good measure the pamphlet quotes at length from Max Eastman's "Reflections on the Failure of Socialism."

The *Sentinel* followed this up with a series of front-page editorials headed "Which Do You Want?" The typical form of these pieces was to quote Zeidler or an old SP platform, then Karl Marx, Stalin or Khrushchev under the heading "Socialism," then a quote from Zeidler's opponent apparently written for the occasion under the heading "Americanism."

THUS in one editorial headed "Which Do You Want—Regimentation or Freedom?" under "Socialism" we find, "We aim to replace the present capitalistic system. . . . That the system will be replaced is certain. . . . The Socialist Party aims at political *power* in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life."—Wisconsin Socialist Party Platform, 1948, Frank P. Zeidler, Milwaukee, Chairman, State Central Committee; and following, "The seizure of *power* is only the beginning."—Joseph Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism." Zeidler has taken the preliminary steps prior to starting suit for libel.

The Milwaukee *Journal* answered this with a front-page editorial titled "No Socialism in the City Hall Under Zeidler Administration," saying, ". . . Milwaukee no longer need be concerned with *theories*. It has a *record* on which to judge. That record shows that whatever his philosophical ideals, Mayor Zeidler has not intruded socialism into city government."

One other aspect of the campaign deserves mention. That was a whispering campaign which charged Zeidler with being pro-Negro and with promoting southern Negro migration to Milwaukee. While McGuire repudiated the rumors some of his backers actively peddled them. In actual fact Zeidler has not distinguished himself by his defense of Negroes; in a debate before the NAACP McGuire criticized him for not having more Negroes on the police force.

Hearst's fears to the contrary, socialism didn't win the election. The old-timers will continue to gather at occasional card parties and talk of the good old days, but the rebirth of socialism in Milwaukee is yet to come.

Robert Henderson is a Milwaukee unionist who has written a number of times for the American Socialist *on Midwestern labor and politics.*

BOOK REVIEW

When They Voted Early and Often

THE LAST HURRAH, by Edwin O'Connor. Atlantic-Little Brown, Boston, 1956, $4.

WHILE some of the critics might have gone a bit overboard in praise for "The Last Hurrah"—particularly the one who called it *the* great novel of the Irish in America—there is no question it is a fine novel. In describing a slice of life and in delineating a sphere of the human personality Mr. O'Connor has met two of the more important tests of the good work of fiction, and his book ought to get at least double the ten-month run of "The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit" on the best-seller lists if real quality counts on those lists—which is sometimes questionable.

"The Last Hurrah" is the story of a political boss patterned after Jim Curley who ruled Boston with such a store of loyalty behind him that he was retained in office even when serving a term in Federal prison. Frank Skeffington is the aging Irish politician who controls the Democratic Party of a large Northern city resembling Boston, and through that control has run the city for many years. As the story opens, Skeffington has just announced to his gleeful backers and dismayed opponents that despite his advanced age (he is almost 72) he is throwing his hat in the ring for another term as mayor.

The book is concerned with the campaign and its outcome. We see his machine at work and study its methods; we hear the colorful Skeffington on the election ramparts; the opposition is mercilessly dissected. If the book has any major fault that stares out at the reader it is that O'Connor has fallen in love with his character and, despite an evident resolution to treat him objectively, cannot help making of every person who does not respect Skeffington a mean-spirited scoundrel, while conversely, every character of any qualities of manhood or perception is, will he or nil he, a Skeffington admirer. In the end, Skeffington loses, despite a powerful campaign and a general certitude of victory. The author uses the occasion to discuss the reasons for the downfall of the old-time boss with his feudal barony and omnipotent machine.

IN the main, O'Connor seems to hit the answer squarely. The old machines were more than devices of theft; they were the link between the mass of city poor and workers—particularly immigrant workers—and our august government. Politics was a rich man's game and the government a rich man's tool. The machines gave the poor access, it took care of their problems, it did favors and helped out some when the going was roughest, and it voiced in a twisted way the aspirations of the Irish, the Polish, the Jewish, the Germans, the Italians and others for a say in their new land which they had been told was a democracy. The government remained a rich man's government, but a few cracks were opened up for the hard-pressed of the cities.

The city bosses were neither Launcelots nor Robin Hoods, but in the main just plain and fancy thieves, and they lined their pockets with fabulous loot. Nor were they loyal to the poor they exploited, except sometimes on a purely personal man-to-man basis, but sold them out to the interests time after time. But they did give their ear, their time, often their influence, sometimes their largesse, always their purple rhetoric, to the poor. It wasn't much, but the people showed repeatedly they preferred it to the blank wall of the moralizing upper-class reformers who offered nothing but a sermon on the virtues of hard work—something they were not usually qualified to discuss—and an occasional inhospitable soup kitchen which reeked offensively of public charity.

The changing country left little room, as O'Connor points out, for the old-style boss. The immigrant groups dissolved as the younger generations got assimilated, and the old religious and national appeals were weakened. The shock of the Great Depression brought, by vast and popular demand, federal responsibility—at least in a measure—for services previously rendered by the boss. Relief, unemployment insurance, veterans benefits, social agencies and many other reforms won by a people tired of begging cut away the patronage-cash-jobs basis of bossdom in the cities.

AMONG the factors which Mr. O'Connor and other commentators on the matter scarcely mention is the rise of the mass unions. It was the unions which made over the outlook of the federal government, and, beyond that, the unions have given the worker a place to go, and a strong representative to take his part in dealings with government agencies, tax bureaus, employers, and often even personal and family problems. The number of unions that maintain a broad staff of welfare and social-service personnel is not large, but even where these do not exist every union officer has found himself doing the chores of welfare worker and Dutch uncle for members that have problems and need help, influence, or a lawyer. It is part of the changed American scene that the industrial worker is no longer the helpless and ignorant raw material for exploitation; he has organization and resources that even the old Skeffingtons can't match.

And, as the worker used to vote with Skeffington, he now votes with the union. The union doesn't wield political power directly as the ward boss used to, but the process isn't finished yet, and the ultimate successor to Frank Skeffington's crooked machine which exploited the worker will be the labor party which puts him in power.

MR. O'Connor's novel deserves praise for one particular aspect of his approach: He understands the essence of politics which has escaped many liberals and do-good reformers. Politics is a field of combat. In every political arena, organization, contest, dispute, that is the essential element that distinguishes it from "political science" as it is taught in the colleges. You may be ever so brilliant, and have hold of the greatest nostrum for solving human ills that was ever devised, but no matter—from some quarter, moved either by antagonistic interest or what may look to you as just plain mule-headed ignorance, there is bound to come opposition and this is the difference of opinion that makes horse races and politics. Differences of opinion on the political field are settled neither by a race at Hialeah nor by sweet reasonableness, but by political power, and whosoever is not ready for a fight might just as well stay out of any kind of politics.

Mr. O'Connor, like his hero, understands this, and furthermore, like Frank Skeffington, he enjoys a good scrap and describes it with zest, and that's what gives his book a lot of appeal.

H. B.

Why Try to Kid Ourselves?

LABOR'S UNTOLD STORY, by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais. Cameron Associates, New York, 1955.

THE present American labor movement lacks a tradition and sense of continuity. Only the radicals cherish the movement's history. Opening this window upon the past—and consequently, upon the future, as well—is indeed one of the important contributions that socialists can make to the enlightenment of trade unionists. Twenty years ago books like "Men Who Lead Labor" by Bruce Minton and John Stuart, and "The Labor Spy Racket" by Leo Huberman, helped educate many a worker to class consciousness, or at least, to militant union consciousness. "Labor's Untold Story" is an even more ambitious attempt at popularization by presenting the whole sweep of American labor development from the Civil War to the present in a series of sharply etched vignettes or profiles.

The technique is probably a praiseworthy one, but the book falls far short of achieving success with it. The two authors are in the category of Communist-influenced writers; and writers of this school have this much in common with the old liberal-progressive historians: They can write much better about the past than the present. The sections dealing with the Molly Maguires, the Haymarket martyrs and the crusade for the eight-hour day, Bill Haywood and the rise of the Western Federation of Miners in the West, are quite good. While depth of analysis and light and shade of relationships are consistently sacrificed for the easy flow of the narrative and the inspirational (often too turgid and purple) prose, the newcomer to American labor affairs cannot help but understand the historical continuity in labor's battles, the realization at a later stage of the earlier efforts of the pioneers, and the existence of a certain logic and purposeful pattern in the disconnected and often disjointed struggles. These are the achievements of the authors, even though purchased at the unnecessarily high price of over-simplification and superficiality.

BUT the virtues of the book start disappearing the closer we get to our own times, and the reason for this seems fairly obvious. Since the authors rely on Communist sources for the picture of events, and since the Communist explanation of recent events is an *apologia* for its own inconsistent line and conduct, the narrative inevitably bogs down into a wordy mass of special pleading which only coincidentally at times tallies with historical truth.

A few illustrations to show what we mean. On page 245, the authors slither into this explanation for the formation of Red trade unions in 1929: "The AFL officials, still clinging to their no-strike policies, fought the militants so remorselessly, openly sabotaging huge struggles for pay raises and shorter hours while expelling literally thousands on thousands of their own members, that the inevitable result was the founding of new independent unions in textile, coal and the needle trades." This is the writing of lawyers defending a client, not historians searching for truth. The Red trade union policy in 1929 had nothing to do with non-existent "huge struggles." It was decreed in Moscow, it was adopted by all Communist Parties from France to the South Sea Islands; and William Z. Foster, after a lifetime of struggle against precisely this concept of dual unionism, swallowed his integrity and pretended to be convinced.

IN the final section, where the authors go into the witch-hunt and the expulsion of a number of unions from the CIO, their explanation is too disingenuous and one-sided. They picture correctly how the CIO leaders became creatures of the State Department, but they assiduously ignore how so many of the left-wingers permitted themselves to become faithful weather-vanes of every wind blowing from Moscow, and how heavily that cost them with the workers. They want to reduce the whole question to its agitational form: Red-baiting is the bosses' game, it produces disunity and weakens labor, so let's all unite against the bosses. This correct but oversimplified proposition didn't prove to be an effective tactic to stem the tide during the events, and it is an even poorer history of the events.

They write: "The plot to divide the CIO was at all times a design of the CIO's cold war leadership. It never had the approval of the CIO rank-and-file." Our authors are just kidding themselves. It certainly was a plot of the CIO cold-war leadership. But unfortunately the ranks were caught up only too effectively in the hysteria. All of us on the Left—historians and non-historians alike—may just as well realize that the labor movement in this country, while not yet class-conscious, is very sophisticated. No one is going to josh it along. When workers want to know the political position of one of its leaders, they're not going to be palmed off by a recitation of the good contracts he signed the year before (especially when some of the cold-war leaders signed better contracts). The days when radicals can profitably employ subterfuge and double talk are long past. That goes for left-wingers working in the trade unions. That goes for historians writing about the trade unions.

B. C.

Decline of the IWW

THE IWW, ITS FIRST FIFTY YEARS, by Fred Thompson. Industrial Workers of the World, Chicago, 1955, $3.

THERE is no book on the IWW that catches the spirit of this remarkable rebel formation on American soil. The two authoritative books on the subject, Brissenden's study of the IWW up to the war, and Gambs' somewhat inferior sequel on the decline of the IWW, are both informative works which provide the essential facts. But the authors are university figures who lacked direct experience with labor radicalism and their books carry the mark of the academician.

Volume IV of John R. Commons' monumental "History of Labor in the United States," written by Perlman and Taft, has several very good chapters on the IWW, and its authors have a superior historical flair compared with either Brissenden or Gambs. But their treatment is skimpy as the IWW is only incidental to the major themes they are interested in presenting. A good, all-around history is therefore to be heartily desired. Unfortunately, this is not it, or even close to it. Fred Thompson has thrown together a strictly house-organ job. The reader is drowned in newspaper-style information of a hundred and one strikes and doings, but there is no thread to the story, no understanding of the place or role of the IWW in labor history, no comprehension of the labor scene in the IWW's heyday, or of why it finally went into limbo. Thompson can discuss some inconsequential action of the present sect that calls itself the IWW in the same manner and tone of voice and in the same amount of space that he uses for some of the magnificent battles in the West Coast free speech fights, or the strikes at McKees Rocks or Lawrence.

IT has been stressed by many that the IWW tried to build an organization that was a cross between a political party and a union, that it tried to sell an essentially conservative working class an unworkable philosophy of anarcho-syndicalism, that the overwhelming power of the industrial giants succeeded in breaking all of its attempts to establish unions in the industrial East, and thus the Wobblies were forced to become an organization primarily of the migrant workers, whose strongest contingents were in agriculture and lumbering in the Western states.

During the First World War, the IWW tried to steer clear of the peace movements and confine itself strictly to labor organization. But its energetic organizing activities and superb militancy soon brought the wrath of the Money Lords down upon its head. The Wobblies were slandered and reviled by the press, lynch mobs were organized against them, and in 1917-18 federal agents stepped in to complete the process. Over 300 IWW members were arrested and tried in Chicago, Sacramento, and Wichita, and over 160 were sent to jail. (This does not include the many jailed under state criminal syndicalism laws.)

The labor historians have left the false impression that the IWW was smashed by the war-time persecutions and jailing of all its outstanding leaders. Thompson states with some justification: "The fact that the IWW grew from the war years to the 1924 split, and that this disaster occurred when these leaders were released, does not fit in with the conclusion of Perlman and Taft and other historians that the decline of the IWW was due to the loss of its leadership by imprisonment." Thompson then displays his sense of history and proportion by spending exactly one paragraph discussing the 1924 split that finished the IWW.

BUT Gambs described the events with precision, and they are interesting to recall. The Russian Revolution made a profound impression on the Wobblies as it did on all American radicals at the time. Haywood, Harrison George, Bill Shatoff and numerous others were overwhelmed with enthusiasm and eager to grasp the new ideas that made such an event possible. In 1919, the General Executive Board unanimously voted to recommend affiliation with the Third International. The IWW found itself embroiled in a full-scale discussion of whether or not to join with the Communists, and a host of related questions concerning "the state," "politics," etc. A number of different influences now began to operate on the Wobblies, and finally tipped the scales against affiliation with the Communists. Haywood's jumping bail and leaving for Russia created a lot of bitterness. Then, the Communists were crude and tactless in their wooing, and soon convinced the IWW that they were out to break up its organization. As a matter of fact, a steady stream of former Wobblies were actually joining the Communist ranks. Furthermore, the old-time Wobbly found it difficult to embrace "politics," which he had scorned all his active life, and was particularly antagonized by Lenin's "Left Wing Communism," which opposed the formation of revolutionary unions and proposed that Communists work within the existing labor movement. By 1923-24, the Communist tide had definitely passed, and the IWW resolved to have nothing to do with Communism or its works.

But the decision to simply turn their backs on the Russian revolution and the new developments in the international labor movement meant that the IWW people did not understand the new world that had emerged after the war, and were determined to withdraw into their own shell. With that, the decline of the IWW into a hide-bound sect became inevitable. The "one big union" idea was now converted into a new mystical shrine, and the magical solution of all the world's ills, regardless of time, place, or circumstances. The Wobblies had always had a narrowly restricted notion of what "politics" signified. But in the process of disintegration after the war, even defense work on behalf of imprisoned IWW members began to be scorned by the Wobbly one-hundred percenters as "politics" (the Sacramento prisoners conducted a "silent defense" and sent a telegram to the national office: "No more lawyers. Don't mourn! Organize! Organize!"), and the mania for decentralization reached the point where proposals were made to abolish the national office. Gangrene had set it. The 1924 split, so confused that it still does not make sense to outsiders, simply put the period to the decomposition that had been under way.

B. C.

Poland's Progress

POLISH POSTWAR ECONOMY, by Thad Paul Alton. Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, $5.75.

THIS scholarly book gives a fairly thorough account of post-war Polish economy from the World War II period up to 1953. Though perhaps of more interest to the specialist in economics than the general reader, the overall picture which the author presents fills in many important details in the development of the new Eastern European states.

The pattern which Poland followed since World War II is essentially similar to that of the other "Peoples Democracies." The occupation by the Red Army gave the Communist parties of these countries the leading voice in the postwar coalition governments, made possible the confiscation of the landed estates, the distribution of land parcels to the peasantry, and the nationalization of sectors of the economy. Eventually, with the ousting of the other parties from the government, the Communists began their active socialization of all spheres of production.

Alton's conclusions for Poland are that a "mixed economy" of state and capitalist enterprises would have been more appropriate. The present type of socialist planning and centralization ("the Soviet model") has led, in his opinion, to the blind alley of a low standard of living, the "loss of personal freedom as well as a consumption of resources [by the bureaucracy] that could be used for directly productive purposes."

To make this estimation, the author has to ignore the levels inherited from Poland's semi-feudal past and the tremendous devastation wreaked in the course of the war. De Castro, in his excellent book "The Geography of Hunger," pointed out that the monopolization of agricultural resources in pre-war Poland had all but stifled the possibilities of any increases to provide for the meager consumption of the growing Polish population, let alone for any growth in urbanization and industry. While 19,000 landowners owned 43 percent of the country's total cultivated land, some four million peasants had no land at all, and 65 percent of those who did own farms had less than 30 acres, or insufficient for existence. The per capita income was $160 per year. It is therefore little cause for wonder that the gains made by Polish economy since World War II have been slowed up by the hang-dog of a devastated and backward peasant economy. Even here, it must be noted that by 1953 collectivization into state-owned farms and producer cooperatives had already encompassed one-fifth of the total area in use, accompanied by significant increases in agricultural yields and numbers of livestock.

ALTON implies that a capitalist, free-market type of system might have had similar or better results, but the failure of capitalism to successfully develop any of the present backward countries restricts him to a rather limited area of criticism. One can agree with his contention that political democracy is not a strong *forte* of the Communists, and one can also add that the restriction of the trade union movement to little more than a rubber-stamp organization does not help to gain the confidence and cooperation of the working class in the difficult transitional tasks. But these points, though important, are not relevant to Alton's main line of attack, which is as the proponent of a different economic order rather than of political difference with Communist Party monolithism.

On the economic field, upon which he concentrates, he finds a number of errors due to disproportions in planning emphasis, the failure of certain spheres of production to reach planned goals, a not always realistic distribution of employment, and a general lag in agriculture due to underinvestment. Though these criticisms are perhaps valid, they pick only at the perimeter of a considerable accomplishment.

This book is a product of the Russian Institute established by Columbia University in 1946 to give the American elite a better understanding of Soviet developments. As the author is working for a limited audience, and as the work under discussion is further beholden to the Rockefeller Foundation for special financial assistance, it must be presumed that what the patrons of the project are interested in are the facts, and not the kind of propaganda that is dished out in the daily press.

But the essential meaning of the whole process both for the country and its relationship to the world is either misstated or missed entirely. It is a case where the staggering amount of factual materials obscures the overall picture, where the author cannot see the forest for the trees. This is said not because Mr. Alton is obviously not in sympathy with an anti-capitalist planned economy, but because he does not evaluate objectively and correctly the facts in his own charts.

FROM Mr. Alton's background discussion of pre-war Poland, one would never guess that we are dealing with a country ridden with fascist and police dictatorships, and oppressed with a stagnant economy that oozed from all its pores the congenital diseases of the Balkanized East European states: feudal landed estates, a surplus of population in agriculture, low industrial activity, and a grinding poverty for the mass of the people, urban and rural. Alton's conclusion that "by the eve of World War II, Poland had gone far toward achieving economic unity, assuring monetary stability, and providing for economic growth" is preposterous. His solemn discussion of the prewar paper "plans" betrays academic obtuseness. His vague suggestion that but for the outbreak of war Poland might have flowered under an "emerging experiment of partnership of state and private enterprise" is just special pleading that flies in the face of the facts.

The deficiencies of the current industrialization program under Poland's post-war Communist government have been described *ad nauseam* by the capitalist publicists and are graphically brought out in the detailed factual material presented in this book. By concentrating the overwhelming effort toward building up its basic industries, progress is slow in agriculture, and the living standards of the people are improving extremely haltingly. The author points out that in 1953 real wages in non-agricultural employment rose imperceptibly as compared to 1949, and the plan's target of a 60 percent increase in the living scale by 1955 was hardly being met. Similarly, agricultural production is growing slowly, and the second five-year-plan targets had to be revised downward in a number of categories. But these facts—and facts they are—have to be fitted into the overall picture which shows that Poland has done a remarkable job of rebuilding its devastated cities and making good its war losses, and is powering an industrial revolution which will signify its emergence as an important economic power in a matter of less than a decade.

JAN H. Wszelaki, a diplomat of the pre-war Polish government and an opponent of the present regime, described the development with far greater understanding when he stated: "From the European point of view, the industrial revolution of Eastern Europe is an outstanding historical event, comparable in its implications to the great wars of the present century." In 1955, the end of the second plan, its national income was almost three times as great as pre-war. Khrushchev reported at the Twentieth Congress that Poland's industrial output increased four-fold since the war. By the end of the current plan in 1960, industrial output is planned to be ten times as great as in 1938, and if the target is attained, Polish per capita industrial output will surpass the present per capita production of France. In any manner of reckoning, the achievement is a sensational one.

True, the Polish masses are paying a big price for this phenomenal economic progress in economic hardships and lack of democratic rights. But for the first time since Poland's re-creation as an independent country, they are making progress toward an assurance of a brighter future instead of stagnating or going backwards. Mr. Alton's vague insinuation that Poland could do better under a "mixed economy" of capitalist and state enterprises shatters on this rock: What prevented the Polish landowners and merchants under Pilsudski and Beck from putting through Alton's beneficial projects between 1921 and 1938? Mr. Alton applies the test of deeds to the Communists. He is under obligation to apply the same test to the capitalists and landowners. M.B.

This Ought to Clear Things Up

THE NEW AMERICAN RIGHT, edited by Daniel Bell. Criterion Books, New York, 1955, $4.

THE ultra-sophisticated university set go to work in a series of essays to interpret for us the meaning of recent events and probe, while they are at it, into the inner essence of American politics. As Daniel Bell, the book's editor, explains: "This book is concerned not with transiencies, but with the deeper-running social currents of a turbulent mid-century America." His claims are not only far-reaching, but he is guilty of no false modesty in arguing the excellence of his own and his co-workers' wares: "Conventional political analysis drawn largely from the eighteenth and nineteenth century American experience cannot fathom these new social anxieties nor explain their political consequences." Our attention is also called to the "exhaustion of liberal and left-wing political ideology." The present book fortunately comes to our rescue with "a new framework" and "represents a new and original contribution."

This Madison Avenue buildup is only a come-on for a rehash of the by now familiar line of patter of *Fortune* magazine babbittry; to wit: 1) the permanence of the two-party system; 2) "the multiplication of interests and the fractioning of groups make it difficult to locate the sources of power in the United States"; 3) status resentments are the real force of American politics.

This "last word" in American sociology represents a bad retrogression from the older Beard-Parrington liberalism. It has confused basic concepts and bowdlerized terminology to the point where it has turned college social science into a study in obfuscation rather than clarification. Some of the ideas of modern psychology, the recent sampling poll techniques, and superior statistical data have provided modern scholars with extra-fine tools which were lacking in the past. But by counterposing the new techniques to a social science which is grounded in materialist thought and objective analysis of social phenomena, our present-day professors have reduced the value of these tools to knickknacks and gadgets. Some of the writing of the new school contains many brilliant insights, but taken as a whole it is far closer to *feuilleton* writing a la Max Lerner than to social science.

The first essay and the best in the book is on "The Pseudo-Conservatives" by Richard Hofstadter. Hofstadter always writes well and he describes the mentality of those who make up the following of a McCarthy with great penetration. He expertly delineates its psychological drives and correctly distinguishes the movement from European fascism. But by resting his whole analysis on the status-drives of the old-family Anglo-Saxon Protestants and certain late-immigrant groups, particularly the Catholic Irish and German, his presentation has the effect of trying to jam a complex reality into a lop-sided mold that is topheavy on the psychological side and perilously thin in its groundwork.

BUT Hofstadter is a scrupulous and careful scholar compared to the next duo, David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, who authored the bible of our intellectual elite, "The Lonely Crowd," and who are represented here with a study on "The Intellectuals and the Discontented Classes." When you start on this, hold on to your hat! The gale blows fierce and unrelenting! Imagine a total absence of discipline or unified concept, a virtuosity in verbal juggling, a breath-taking trapeze artistry in shifting viewpoints from page to page and paragraph to paragraph, and you get some vague idea of the no-man's-land that you enter when you try to follow the vaporings and meanderings of our current intellectual lights of the academic and business worlds.

Underlying this irresponsible melange is the smug assumption that this country has solved its economic problems, that the business cycle is under firm Keynesian control, and all that we have left to worry about now are psychological frustrations, status drives and individual problems. ("When voters feel insecure in the midst of prosperity, it is not an economic appeal that will really arouse them. . . . What worries them is often that they do not know what worries them, or why, having reached the promised land, they still suffer.")

Our two experts also direct their attention to the problem of minorities and civil rights. Their explanation of the basic causes should not be missed out on. Here it is: "In their valuable book, 'The Dynamics of Prejudice,' Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz make the point that in America Jews and Negroes divide between them the hostilities which spring from internal conflict: The super-ego is involved in anti-Semitism, since the Jew is felt to represent the valued but unachieved goals of ambition, money and group loyalty ('clannishness'), whereas fear and hatred of the Negro spring from id tendencies which the individual cannot manage, his repressed desires for promiscuity, destruction of property, and general looseness of living. (In Europe, the Jews must do double duty, as the outlet for both id and super-ego dynamisms.) Today, on the one hand, the increasing sexual emancipation of Americans has made the Negro a less fearsome image in terms of sexuality (though he remains a realistic threat to neighborhood real estate and communal values) and, on the other hand, prosperity has meant that the Jew is no longer a salient emblem of enviable financial success. Thus, while the KKK declines the former 'racial' bigot finds a new threat: the older educated classes of the East, with their culture and refinement, with 'softness' and other amenities he does not yet feel able to afford.

"Furthermore, the sexual emancipation which has made the Negro less of a feared and admired symbol of potency has presented men with a much more difficult problem: the fear of homosexuality. Indeed, homosexuality becomes a much more feared enemy than the Negro" etc., etc.

WE also learn further along that the liberal intellectuals whose old battle cries have all been dissipated with the prosperity cannot even make a show in civil rights or civil liberties, either. "For Wall Street was closer to the liberal intellectuals on the two domestic issues that were still alive—civil rights and civil liberties—and on the whole range of issues related to foreign policy than were the former allies of the liberal intellectuals, the farmers and the lower classes of the city, both in their old form as factory workers and in their new form as white collar workers."

After thirty pages filled with fugitive observations of every-which-way variety our authors finally throw up their hands in despair: "What kind of life, indeed, is appropriate to a society whose lower classes are being devoured faster by prosperity than Puerto Rican immigration can replenish? We have almost no idea about the forms the answers might take, if there are answers." Let us take leave of the book on this note, which if not too enlightening, is at any rate, an honest confession of bewilderment and intellectual bankruptcy.

The volume also contains essays by Peter Viereck, Talcott Parsons and Seymour Martin Lipset.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Life Added to Union

Have just received your fine socialist paper. . . . Please enter my subscription.

Have been a construction worker for 15 years. Your article "What's the Matter with the Unions?" [March 1956] was well stated —a few socialists in each local and you find membership meetings full of meaning and life. Our local has 150-200 present for meetings and our members live in an area 140 miles long by 60 wide. Some members come 110 miles to attend a meeting.

One thing to keep in mind: The human race is making the effort of growth and development; most of us do what we think to be the best. I say only a fool tries to make money "more than he can use." But those who want more have not shown much growth. Yes, some day man will produce things, goods, for *use*. Working for socialism is a step in building the mature man.

C. H. M. *New York State*

It seems to me that in your very good article "Is the Boom Losing its Balance?" [March 1956] you overlook one important point. This is the relative decline in the cost of capital goods.

I think most people will agree that a dollar will buy less in the way of necessities of life but will buy more of an increase in the powers of production today than it would in the 1920's.

To give a minor example: Some four years ago an aluminum cup producer in the Midwest spent about $60,000 for a new machine which enabled him to reduce his labor force from 55 full-time employees to only 1 half-time employee while getting the same production.

Now it seems to me that this $60,000 worth of new machinery increased our productive power many times more than would $60,000 worth of the old-type machines which were bought back in the twenties. If this is so it is clear that our economy is more out of balance—in any comparison of consumer purchasing power and productive capacity—than your article suggests.

Apart from this detail, your article is one of the best popular expositions of Marxian economics that I have seen.

G. W. *Vermont*

Defense of W.E.B. Du Bois

It is with some regret that I read in a recent issue [April 1956] R.L.R.'s objection to what he considers a false statement on the part of Dr. Du Bois in his article in your magazine on "Negro Voters Face 1956" [February 1956]. It is not his objection that I take issue with, rather his impolite and rude manner in dealing with Dr. Du Bois. Responsible Negro people certainly consider him an authority and scholar on Negro problems.

To raise some objection on statistics seems to me a lot of unnecessary hair-splitting. The general theme of the article seemed quite clear to me: that the Negro voted, regardless of the split in the vote, for war, monopoly, and wealthy ruling classes instead of for peace and the socialist reconstruction of society.

One of the first lessons taught me long ago, a lesson borne out by historical fact, is that both parties, Republican and Democrat, serve the interests of the rich. While we may back Republicans or Democrats on certain issues—civil rights, progressive labor legislation, etc.—a vote Republican or Democratic on Presidential election day is a vote for the *status quo*.

R. L. R.'s personal baiting of Dr. Du Bois—"this ex-leader of the Negro people" —is not in line with generally accepted objective attitudes associated with writing and reporting technique. Such baiting, it seems to me, is entirely out of order in view of Dr. Du Bois' general participation, cooperation, and contributions to the socialist movement.

J. E. U. *Chicago*

Those Sacrificed Under Stalin

About your lead article in the April issue called "The Russians Revolt Against Stalin" . . . Why does your author rave about those sacrificed, maybe unjustly, under Stalin? Doesn't he know that men by the millions "die for us" on crosses of one kind or another under capitalism? Is American youth not taught to kill his fellow men and be killed for the profit system? To say nothing of the American oligarchy allowing millions of tons of consumable food to be stored, even wasted in this country while as De Castro of the UN states one-third of the world is in permanent state of actual starvation. But in the USSR under Stalin was this the case?

Why not throw away the mud-slinging and ask: "Could I have done so well, yes, even as Stalin, who had most of the world against him and a lot of less capable people within and without his own country hungry for prestige, power and privilege?"

R. G. *Boston*

The April issue of *American Socialist* which I've just finished reading from cover to cover is one of the best yet. The editorial on Stalin was the most comprehensive job I've seen. "Which Way to a New American Radicalism?" was very enlightening to me. As a matter of fact every article was well worth reading. I wish your illustrations were signed. The one on Hugh Weston's article was hilarious.

I promise to step up my efforts in selling subscriptions and renewals.

A. R. K. *Baltimore*

[The drawings used to illustrate the *American Socialist*, about which we have had many inquiries and generous praise, are contributed by "Thal," a talented young artist engaged in free-lance art work.—THE EDITORS]

Union Prospects Poor

Never having been a member of a labor union, I am bored by your continual discussions of ways of getting the unions to favor socialism. While a majority of the unionists are Roman Catholics, the prospects are poor. If I were primarily interested in collective bargaining, I would steer clear of socialism. Better bargains can be made with capitalists by those who favor capitalism.

My own interest is in showing that Jesus was opposed to riches, and that it is the duty of all Christians to follow his lead and make a real attack on the power of Mammon. In the past, Christian teaching has been the main incentive to rebellion against aristocracy. Why not now and here?

A. C. *Pennsylvania*

Surprised at Thomas

That was a fine speech of Dr. Du Bois printed in your January issue ["If Eugene Debs Returned," speech at New York Debs Centennial, Nov. 28, 1955]. I too have been surprised that Norman Thomas could have been a socialist candidate so many times and yet turn against Russian socialism. I must confess I thought there was something wrong with the Socialist Party to choose him as their head. Mr. Du Bois makes me feel that they are not all like that.

We are in serious times today. . . . Our government has gone military mad. It does seem that monopoly is willing to fight to the last man and the last dollar to perpetuate its racket. How foolish, when abundant living for all is just around the corner.

Mrs. A. B. *Wellesley, Mass.*

As to the letter of S. D. in your December 1955 issue: I won't go into all the gory details here, but sentimentalism neither made nor broke the old *Appeal to Reason*. As a simple matter of fact the *Appeal* was always more populist than socialist and so was the entire movement throughout the plains states from Texas to the Dakotas. Debs was the cement that held the party together and when he went the party simply fell apart.

E. M. G. *Arkansas*

Your paper does present a rather interesting viewpoint. My differences are with your one-sided presentation of things. Your preoccupation in many cases is not with a search for a valid analysis for economic situations, but a search for means to demonstrate your point. Your practice of slanting statistics and facts to favor the socialist viewpoint is as bad as the same practice on the part of the capitalist press.

C. G. *Baltimore*

Good luck to the *American Socialist!* May it grow like the *Appeal to Reason.*

N. S. H. *Miami*

Keep the Wheel Turning — — Faster

IN the two and one-half years of our existence, we have established a sort of cycle—beneficent, not vicious—with our readers. Certain subscribers and newsstand purchasers read a few issues of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST and become quite enthused about the possibilities for a publication of this sort in the United States. They then—either in response to our appeals in this space or on their own—send in a list of their friends who might also like us. We mail sample copies of this magazine to these lists, together with subscription cards, and we get a percentage return of new subscribers which is quite good. These new subscribers read the AMERICAN SOCIALIST for a while, and then some among them do the same—send us a list which we circularize. This has proven one of the most important means whereby we have maintained and increased our circulation.

Like all beneficent cycles, this one would be even better if it were speeded up. And since we live under an incentive system, we propose to fall into step with the general Madison Avenue air of the times (on this one matter only) and make the following premium offer: Every reader who sends us the names and addresses of fifty (50) prospects for circularization with sample copies will receive in return a one-year subscription to this magazine. If you are already on our subscription files, your sub will automatically be extended for a year when it expires.

SIT right down and do it now. If it takes you a while to pile up such a list, start it today and send in what you can. We'll keep this offer going for a while so that you'll have time to assemble fifty names and get your year's free sub.

The American Socialist
Room 306 • 857 Broadway • New York 3, N. Y.

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One-hundred percent socialist, with a practical plan for bringing about the new order without violence. Sample copy on request. Address Simplified Economics, 418 East 9th Street, Kansas City 6, Missouri.

In Detroit:

HARVEY O'CONNOR

discusses his new book . . .

'The Empire of Oil'

Friday, May 18, 8 p.m.
Highland Park YMCA
13320 Woodward Ave.
Second Floor

The author will describe the corrupting influence the oil industry has had upon Congress. He will discuss the relationship of the oil industry to the threatening war in the Mid-East.

Copies of Mr. O'Connor's Book
Will be Available

Contribution: 75c

The American Socialist
A Monthly Publication

857 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
WAtkins 9-7739

41-16-142

May 8, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are initiating a symposium in the American Socialist around the following important current question:

> Are there new opportunities for American socialism in the light of the policy changes announced by the 20th Congress in Russia?

It is our hope that you will send your views on this subject, as we believe a good, all-sided symposium on this matter will be of aid in clarifying much that is hazy on the Left today, and in stirring up fresh thought and interest about American socialism. Such a clarification and squaring of accounts is certainly indispensable in our opinion as a prelude to progress for socialism in this country.

We have in mind contributions in the 500-1000 word category, although we are prepared to consider communications that are either shorter or longer, to suit your convenience in the matter.

We hope to receive your contribution soon.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Braverman

Harry Braverman

HB/er

357

41-16-146

The American Socialist
A Monthly Publication

857 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
WAtkins 9-7739

May 28 1956

W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In reply to yous of May 2, I am very sorry to hear of the kind of difficulties that stand in the way of the kind of work that is so needed today, and can understand that the article I suggested is far too ambitious to be undertaken without staff and stenographic help. I have no more cheering information.

We hope you can include us in your writing plans in the months to come. We can leave the choice of topics up to you, as all things you write attract great interest among our readers. And, if we have some special suggestions in the near future, we will write you.

I attended the Carnegie Hall synposium last night, and I must say that your dignity and integrity lent a touch of distinction to an otherwise tasteless and confused affair.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry Braverman

Harry Braverman

357

The American Socialist
A Monthly Publication

857 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
WAtkins 9-7739

November 26, 1956

W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear W. E. B. DuBois:

I am enclosing a $25.00 check for your article which we figure on running in the January issue. We will probably have a piece by the editors also, in which we state our opinions and take issue with one or two of the propositions that you develop.

41/14/25

Sincerely yours,

Bert Cochran

Bert Cochran

BC/er

Enclosure

357

[Aptheker, Bethina]

42-2A-152

Jan. 13, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

How are you and Shirly feeling? We are all fine.

As you know I belong to the Earl Ro* inson Chorus, and about a month ago Earl asked us if we would possiable write a song.

Well I set to work and wrote a song called "Spring".

Mr. Peeps Junior and Jackie are fine. You are I guess wondering who Junior is. Well my mom and I went into N. Y. and we stoped in one of the stores which had a petshop and we saw this cute canary in one of the cages and ended up bying it. I say IT because I am npt sure whether IT is a MALE or FEMALE? /

sincerly, yours

BETTINA Aptheker

[Aptheker]
[1956]

HAPPY BIRTHDAY
TO MY
DEAR FRIEND
DR. DU BOIS

LOVE
BETTINA

1015 Willoughby
Brooklyn

Ans

41/19D-F/48

OPEN
ME

1015 Washington Ave.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Aug. 28, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

How are you feeling? How is Shirley progressing with her leg. I came home from camp 2 days ago, and I am writing this letter from dads office.

--Boy! it is sure hot in the city, compared with Vermont!

Well school will be starting soon and I an anxious to see what my new teacher will be like.

Sincerely, yours

Bettina
Aptheker

42-3-263

1015 Washington Avenue
Brooklyn 25, New York
January 20, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It is difficult for me to express adequately my sense of appreciation for your very generous and extremely thought-provoking letter of January 10.

To have received from you -- one of my revered teachers ever since I can remember thinking at all ---a "well done" is the greatest possible kind of gratification.

The problems you raise are, of course, central ones. Some of your expressions puzzle me and if I understand them -- no small "if", given my own limitations -- evoke in me disagreement. Where you refer, for example, to cause and change as "admittedly unprovable assumptions" I would like much more amplification. For me, I find both to be quite as valid and as fully demonstrable as is the reality of matter. Again, I do not think, as you appear to say, if I read you aright, that the power of mankind to better human conditions is ensconced within the control of chance rather than law. I do not see this as the equivalent of fatalism; rather the contrary for the actions of mankind are of the essence of the making of history. (I tried to develop this not only in my book's first essay but also particularly in the critique of Joseph Wood Krutch, which begins on page 156.)

So much more work and thought must be given to these exceedingly knotty questions -- especially those of the role of chance, and also, of the nature of progress. What an exhilarating thing is the search for knowledge and for comprehension! And how inspiring to us tyros in the effort, to have the example of your own dedicated and fruitful and persistent search!

With keen gratitude and deepest respect,

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

42-2A-178

42-2A-151

October 5, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am very happy to be able to enclose a contract with New Century Publishers for the publication of your trilogy, THE BLACK FLAME. Should you find its terms and conditions satisfactory would you please sign the duplicate copy and return it; should you find some feature of it unsatisfactory or unclear would you please call me so that the necessary changes or explanations can be made.

We are just about settled in our new home - - the last of our books is almost upon the shelves. When the whole painful operation is over and the dust has settled we will hope to have the pleasure of the company of yourself and Mrs. Du Bois. I do hope that Shirley is fully recovered or very nearly so by now.

With warmest regards,

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

41-16-68

Dec 7, 1956

Dear Dr Du Bois:

Enclosed are the first 24 galley sheets of your novel. I have not enclosed the MS assuming that you have the original in your own possession. The setting is going along quite rapidly now; the printer has the first 206 pages, just about half the total.

I hope Shirley is recovering quickly. Warmest regards to her and to yourself,

Cordially,
Herbert
Herbert Aptheker

Titles

41-16-97

December 14, 1956

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
9th floor
832 Broadway
N Y C

My dear Herbert:

I have read the twenty-four galley sheets and am not unpleased. Shirley is reading them. Meantime as to title. I would like to suggest for this first volume either "The Mansarts" or "The Ordeal of Mansart." For the second volume, "Manuel Mansart and His College." For the third volume, "Worlds of Color."

Kindly criticize.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42-2A-149

December 17,1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The titles you suggest seem to me to be splendid. Of the two offered for the first volume, I prefer THE ORDEAL OF MANSART.

Very recently I sent you about 15 or 20 more galley sheets; and we should be getting more in a few days.

Enclosed is a rough sketch of the cover for the first volume. What do you think of this? Our intention is to get an artistx to start work on the cover soon, so please let me have your reaction.

I hope you are well and that Shirley continues to progress towards complete recovery.

Cordially,

Herbert

Herbert Aptheker

41-16-69

December 21, 1956

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
832 Broadway
New York City

Dear Herbert:

Enclosed is a slightly different version of suggested titles for the Trilogy.

I have moved my office from 23 West 26 Street and now have all my books and papers at 31 Grace Court. I would be glad to have you and the family drop in and see them at any time.

Very sincerely,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

ARDENCROFT ASSOCIATION

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DONALD STEPHENS: President • WILLIAM PRICE: Vice President • HAMILTON D. WARE: Secretary-Treasurer

2313 Woodland Lane
Arden, Delaware
1 December 1956

27-20-18

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Friend:

How splendidly you came through with your promise! Can't tell you how much I appreciate all the time and thought you took to garner all those pages of material for us; and it is just the kind of thing we need.

By good fortune, after failing to find your book- The Gift of Black Folk- at the Wilmington library, I discovered that Pauline Young had a treasured copy, which she was good enough to loan me.

Then by rare chance I spied under Grace Goen's arm a copy of Margaret Just Butcher's The Negro In American Culture, which ~~she~~ had just been presented to her by the author, her guest; and ~~she~~ the author was kind enough to loan it to me!

Night before last, armed with all this material, plus The Pictorial History of the Negro in America, I drove over to Pearl Buck's place near Dublin, Bucks County, Pa. and delivered it all to her. So I am sure she now has ample material for her needs. I had already sent her the brief biographies of each picture which the Harmon Foundation had mimeographed; and Betsy Reyneau has been dictating and having sent her additional material of her contacts and memories of the various subjects.

address: R.D. 3,
Perkasie,
Pa.

There is one thing more I'd appreciate your sending Miss Buck: Will you please send her a sheet I'm sure you have telling of your professional background. I want to make sure it is correct and thoroughly up to date. Thanks much, again, for this.

ARDENCROFT — "YOU ARE WELCOME HITHER"

". . every man is entitled to the full results of his own labor or enterprise in producing goods, erecting buildings, improving lands, or otherwise contributing to the satisfaction of his own wants or the wants of others, but that value which attaches to land by reason of the increased competition for its use, and which is due to growth of population and advance of public improvements, belongs justly to the whole community. Therefore the public should take by taxation for the common use and benefit the full rental value of land." from the Charter of the Ardencroft Association.

P.S. Lou has been until this week the only Negro practicing in Delaware

Would have gotten my thanks off immediately, but Inky and I have been in court every day, all day, this week since Tuesday. Our good friends Louis and Ruth Redding have been going through a most difficult time- Lou being on trial in the Federal Court in Wilmington on the charge of "Wilfully failing to make tax returns when due". And the only way we could be of help was to be in attendance every day and sit with Ruth and give them moral support and encouragement. It was a tremendous relief all round when the jury at 5 o'clock last evening brought in a verdict of acquital on both counts in the indictment.

We thought so often of the time when we attended the final day of your trial in Washington when the judge threw the case out of court. . . . . .

I enclose a clipping from today's paper reporting the final day's events.

It will interest you to learn that the proceedings were initiated by Senator Williams, who represents ofcourse the conservative forces of the state and hails from the reactionary southern part of the state. It is likewise of interest that of five other attorneys, Lou is the only Negro and the only one tried, at least thus far. And another point of interest is that the chief prosecution witness was the criminal investigator for the Internal Revenue office, named Kimmey, whose home is in Milford, Del.;and finally, that the judge on the second day had to halt the proceedings when he learned that certain members of the jury had received copies of the rabid anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, fascist sheet "Common Sense". He catechised five members who had received it and all who had read it affirmed that it would not affect their impartial hearing of the case.

Am sure you won't mind that I told Pearl Buck that I felt sure that if there were any points on which she needed advice that if she addressed you I felt you were far the best person to supply it. As a matter of fact, I would much appreciate it if you would look over her manuscript after we receive it, for we want it to be accurate and as strong as possible.

Do hope Shirley Graham is making encouraging progress. I know how long knee injuries take to recover. And that it won't be too long before we see you both down this way again.

Cordially yours,

Don Stephens

Donald Stephens

THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, Inc.
1538 NINTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 7, 1956

Mr. George B. Murphy, Jr.
2535 Thirteenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Murphy:

We regret to inform you that the Associated Publishers is not in a position to publish BLACK MANSARTS by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

Thank you for giving us an opportunity to consider the publication of this manuscript.

Sincerely yours,
THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, Inc.

W. L. Miles

(Miss) W. L. Miles,
Office Secretary.

WLM/m

41/16/22

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Incorporated
FOUNDED SEPTEMBER 9, 1915, BY CARTER G. WOODSON

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY
AND
THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN
1538 NINTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

January 14,1956

42-2A-148

Note in Historical News in January 1956 Journal of Negro History now in the press

> " William E.B. DuBois has reduced his comprehensive historical knowledge of Reconstruction and Since in Southern history to historical fiction in the Black Mansarts, a work of 500 pages that is completed for publication. The theme is the name of a Negro family which begins in Charleston, South Carolina and it covers practically all facets of Negro life in the United States since the Civil War. The clarity, pungency, and brilliancy of the auther's writing are as beautiful at 87 as they were 50 years ago in the Souls of Black Folk."

Brewer
W.M. Brewer
The JOURNAL.

Cop for Mr. Geo.Murphy.

2

[ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY]

Central State College
CHARLES H. WESLEY, PRESIDENT
WILBERFORCE, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 5, 1956

42-2A-147

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, President of the Associated Publishers, and I have been in consultation concerning the publication of your manuscript, "The Black Mansarts." We are publishing Jane Shakelford's Child's Story of the Negro in a new edition. This will take a large part of our reserve. New editions are also needed of our textbooks. The directors had a meeting on February 22 and reaffirmed their policy of publishing textbooks and library materials. They voted against the publication of novels, for the present.

Personally, I would like very much to publish the manuscript. I like it and I think that it would have a ready reception by the public. However, we are bound by the financial limitations. I hope that you will succeed in finding a publisher who can undertake it with greater security and certainty than the Associated Publishers can at the present time. Mr. Murphy asked me to permit the manuscript to remain at our printors, as he had another plan in view.

With cordial personal regards to you and Shirley, I am

Sincerely,

Charles H. Wesley

Charles H. Wesley

CHW/rs

Central State College
CHARLES H. WESLEY, PRESIDENT
WILBERFORCE, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 17, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History has been planning for a number of years to publish an *Encyclopedia Africana*. Dr. Carter G. Woodson in 1921, when the Associated Publishers, Incorporated was organized, began the development of this idea. A considerable body of data has been collected and is stored in the offices in Washington, D. C. It has been projected to treat in a general way Negroes and Negroid peoples throughout the world. A goodly body of material has been assembled in the rough and some of the editing has been done for the first two volumes. I recall your project under the caption of the *Encyclopedia of the Negro* and that it was incorporated. Neither Dr. Woodson nor I was acquainted with the details of your plans, although I attended one meeting at Howard University at the invitation of President Johnson. I am writing to inquire concerning the status of this plan and what your reaction would be to the proposal of the Association concerning an *Encyclopedia Africana*. Funds are always an obstacle in these types of projects. However, our Association has been discussing this subject at a number of its Annual Meetings and particularly since the passing of Dr. Woodson and our opportunity to examine some of his assembled materials.

The Association will meet at Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas, October 26-28, at its Forty-First Annual Meeting. In order to determine future planning and future approaches to some agency for financing, and to develop plans for editing, it seems desirable that we should have some word from you concerning your project which seems also to have advanced beyond the assembly of materials.

With cordial personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles H. Wesley

Charles H. Wesley
President

CHW/mad

27-17A-80

October 22, 1956

President Charles H. Wesley
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

My dear Mr. Wesley:

Answering your letter of October 17, may I say that as early as 1910 I proposed an Encyclopedia Africana and secured on its editorial board a number of scholars including the greatest of Egyptologists, Flinders Petrie. This of course was but a dream and never got beyond mere paper planning, although in 1911 I discussed the matter with several scholars in England.

I did not return to the subject until Anson Phelps Stokes planned the Encyclopedia of the Negro. A conference on the matter was held in Washington November 7, 1931. Twenty persons were present, but I was not invited. However, at this meeting it was unanimously recommended that Carter Woodson, Alain Locke, and myself be added to the board.

In January, 1932, the Journal of Negro History made public for the first time Mr. Woodson's plan of an Encyclopedia Africana. The Board immediately on motion of President Hope, seconded by me, voted to send a statement to Dr. Woodson, commending the work of his Association and the Journal; assuring him that no member of the Board had heard of his proposed Encyclopedia, and welcoming him to join our conference. Dr. Woodson, however, refused to cooperate. We proceeded with our effort to lay down a broad basis for the proposed Encyclopedia. We corresponded with the chief scholars of America and Europe, and received commendation from Charles Beard, Frans Boas, John R. Commons, Edith Abbott, Felix Frankfurter, Carl Van Doren, H. L. Mencken, Carleton Beals, Roscoe Pound, John W, Vandercook, Robert E. Park, Professor Westerman, Raymond Moley, Broadus Mitchell, Sidney Hook, Frank P, Graham, Harold Lasky, and scores of others.

I prepared several general statements and in consultation with the editors of ~~the Social Science~~ Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences worked out a careful budget. We applied to the General Education Board for a grant and were much encouraged, but finally the grant was refused. We then decided to go on with the planning of this work and finally published a small preparatory volume in 1946, of which there were two editions.

I have in my office a large amount of correspondence and data

27-17A-18

which you are quite at liberty to use. Also, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, whose address is Lenox, Mass., has a great amount of material which I am sure he would place at your disposal. Much of it is probably filed in the office of the Phelps Stokes Fund. I am enclosing some material from my files which I wish you would be careful to return.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

P. S.: Let me impress the fact upon you: there is no such thing as a cheap encyclopedia. If you propose to publish a work of scholarship which will stand up beside the Catholic Encyclopedia, the Jewish Encyclopedia, and the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, it cannot be done for a cent less than $250,000. If, of course, you have in mind something like the Tuskegee Yearbook, then don't for god's sake call it an encyclopedia.

41-16-149

November 5, 1956

[Assoc " Study ---]

Mr. William M. Brewer,
c/o The Association for the Study of Negro
Life and History
1538 Ninth Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Brewer:

I am venturing to write to remind you of what I am sure you are aware, that the year 1957 will usher in a series of centenaries which deeply affect the history of the Negroes and of this country. May I point out a few:

1957: One hundredth anniversary of the Dred Scott decision.

1959: One hundredth anniversary of the death of John Brown.

1961 to 1965: One hundredth anniversary of the participation of American Negroes in the Civil War.

1963: One hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

1968: One hundredth anniversary of the death of Thaddeus Stevens, of the enfranchisement of the freedmen, and of the Freedmen's Bureau.

1972: One hundredth anniversary of the birth of Paul Laurence Dunbar.

1976: One hundredth anniversary of the Bargain of 1876.

There are many other significant anniversaries which recall Negro history and the cultural tie of the black man with American history. If we neglect to mark this history, it may be distorted or forgotten. Already repeated effort is being made to prove that slavery was not the cause of the Civil War; to minimise the part of Negroes in the slavery controversy and the war; to slander friends of the Negro, and to represent his enfranchisement as a serious mistake.

It would be wrong to make these celebrations occasions for controversy or exacerbation of race hate. Rather they should be occasions for calm and scientific inquiry into the past, participated in by persons of authority, white and black, Northern and Southern. We must only be sure that every point of view has adequate and worthy representation.

I suggest that these celebrations be varied in character and

4-16-52

place and in sponsorship; we have only to be sure that no important event or person is forgotten in these centenaries of the first participation in the civilization of the United States of the Negro masses as free citizens. Colleges might celebrate jointly or singly the birthdays of distinguished men; newspapers might issue special editions to recall great events; organizations might hold special meetings or alert their branches and fraternities might offer prizes for essays or even books on certain subjects.

I trust you will agree that this is a vital matter and will put the question before the Trustees of your organization, and that they will take such action as seems to them appropriate.

Yours sincerely,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

Central State College
CHARLES H. WESLEY, PRESIDENT
WILBERFORCE, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

41-16-135

November 12, 1956

42-2A-153

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dr. Dr. DuBois:

We held the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at Texas Southern University in Houston, Texas. In accordance with my statement to you, a discussion was had concerning the Encyclopedia of the Negro while there and interest was expressed in the discussion by the representatives of the colleges, who were delegates to the convention, but no specific action was undertaken, except to continue the committee on the project. Suggestions were of a Cyclopedia or Compendium of Negro Facts which might comprise two volumes, but again no action was taken on such a proposal.

The material which you send was very helpful in showing the tremendous scope of such a project and the funds which would be required for it. If something more definite should develop, I will make contact with you again about it.

With cordial regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles H. Wesley
Charles H. Wesley
President

CHW/mad

Encls.

41-16-135

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Incorporated
FOUNDED SEPTEMBER 9, 1915, BY CARTER G. WOODSON

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY
AND
THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN
1538 NINTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

12 December 1956

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Please accept the Chart of Important Dates and Events in History with our compliments. I am sending our Calander of Intercultural Advancemant, also. It contains most of the items included in the Chart as well as other significant dates and is more easily accessible in the booklet form.

I wish you every success, and know that this work will, in every respect, measure up to your other scholarly publications.

Sincerely yours,

Nerissa L. Milton
Nerissa L. Milton

41-19C-10

[AVINCENA] April 16, 1956

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I read you article on the presidential elections, and I heartily endorse your position. However, I wonder if your ideas couldn't be given a more positive twist. Couldn't we make a virtue out of a necessity? Perhaps you might see some merit in and push the following ideas.

Progressives must not waste time and money on the presidential race. In the last 100 years popular energy has been sidetracked and lost, neatly drained away in the vain contest of trying to elect a president. One big lesson of McCarthy is that Congress can invade executive power. Strictly speaking what he did in this direction was not unconstitutional. If a progressive group could control even the House, it could dominate the other branches of government including the presidency. Inversely, Roosevelt controlling only the executive branch was easily stopped in his more radical reforms by Congress. The P.P. ought to concentrate all energy and money on the House race in a district or two in each State. Imagine 48 or even 24 progressive Congressmen and what they could do alone. Purposely, the powers of government have been scattered, and we must scientifically choose the most important center for a realistic attack. Experience has shown this is not the presidency but the House. Properly handled, control of the House could even be used against a reactionary Senate by the good old parliamentary tactic that goes back to Charles I, financial starvation. Financial bills must be initiated in the House. Let us concentrate on the House and forget the rest.

Why not make this abstention you suggest a formal boycott? Not only will we run no presidential candidate, but advertise loudly that we will not and call for abstention in order to concentrate on the House race. This approach ought to get a good response and wide publicity. To reinforce it, we could imitate India and call ourselves the American Congress Party with all that implies.

Sincerely, J. Avincena.

41-16-140

"The Bastion"
Box 2895
State College
Prairie View, Texas
June 4, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are fine and hope you and Mrs. Du Bois are well. How I wish we might sit and talk once more in life. June 1 Mr. B. and I had been married 45 years.

Tell Mrs. Du Bois that finally I got those children's letters off to Tokio. It was hard for me now that I have [illegible] so much school connection.

Love to both of you.

Sincerely,
Florina Virginia Perry Banks.

41-16-141

June 8, 1956

Mrs. Virginia Perry Banks
"The Bastion"
Box 2898
State College
Prairie View, Tex.

Dear Virginia:

It was nice to get your letter this morning, and since I have a new dictating machine, I am going to answer it immediately.

I have been thinking about you and Banks and am glad to know that you are in health and that things seem to be going on. This is a most extraordinary time, I must say.

By the way, do you read The Guardian, which is published here in New York, a weekly paper? If you do not, I will send you a subscription. It is something you ought to read.

Shirley is so glad to know that you got off those letters to Japan. I am sure they will appreciate them. You do not say much about your new president at Houston. Perhaps there is nothing in particular to say.

My love to you and Banks, from Shirley and myself.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

41-16-145

[Banks]

Ans.

Box 2895
State College
Prairie View, Texas
Sept. 9, 1956

Dear One!

Both of us are in good spirits and fair health. School opens to-morrow here. Soon it opens - integrated school opens to-morrow here. We have a telephone now at T.S.U. in Houston. The number is 7-3334. after 5 years with none. Mr. Banks is helping Texas College now for a year. He began the project July 15. I am working at "Cross" and "cash" and "coin" word puzzles.

Of course, you read all about the backward prejudiced South. The papers and the air carry the story.

Do write when you can. I saw the family picture in "Jet" when the granddaughter married.

With love to you and your family, I am

Sincerely yours,
Florina Virginia Perry Banks.

You read of the death of J. P. Whittaker of Atlanta.

Box 2895
State College
Prairie View, Texas
September 26, 1956

Dear Dr. DuBois :

Both of us are too happy to hear from you and we wish that we might have one more long visit from you both. How well do you stand with the Nabrits ? He is about to find his stride here now and I am hopeful that he might see his way clear to ask you down for a visit to the school. Of cours this man in charge here is silly. He is afraid of his very shadow. The Assoc. for the Study of Negro Life and History, (Carter Woodson history meet) comes to Texas Southern in October. One Dr. Sheeler is sponsoring the meeting. He is in charge of the department of History at T.S.U. While the school is open for integration as of to-day they report no white students, but there are five or six white faculty members on the staff.

What could have happened to Mrs. DuBois ? And to think of all the things I have lugged and lifted ---- I have been blessed after all and I am grateful. It is good to learn that she is improving. Any trouble where one has to bend is hard to manage and takes time to cure. We are so glad that you are well. How I do want to see you and fix calf liver and waffles and tiny sausages and melted ....no let you put your own butter on the hot waffle.The eating is still good down here. We have a telephone after having been without one for five years. The number is 7- 3334.They are dial telephones.

I seem to have almost as much energy as ever only I do not c do as much. I mean to be a little lazy. I think that I have done enough to merit time for reading and sleeping and just sitting.Mr. Banks cooks and calls me . New dishes are his specialty and he does well indeed. He sets the table then washes the dishes. He cares for our large yard. I do a little to keep the house straight when I feel like it. The County is black topping the new road in front of our house just now and the dust is too thick. But when they are through then I plan to clean up again.

When your book is published we will buy it. Have you read Robert Penn Warren's *Segregation yet* ? Or John Hope Franklin's *TheMilitant South* or Kenneth M. Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* ? Mr. Banks and I read the book *Segregation at* one sitting and laughed over it.

Now Dr. DuBois you and I have known each other for a long time and while as Embree said once "You were never one who could be slapped on the back" nor were you ever one with whom one got too familiar ---- I am compelled to ask you a few questions ? We, Mr. Banks and I, think that we might be able to find some work here in the South, but we must know if Mr. *** is all right sexually. So many folk lost good jobs here because of their liking in the wrong direction. Of course, there must be a State department dossier on him, for almost every one has one of these. With care one may be able to get work and keep it as long as he wants so that he leaves a job and is not fired. It is unfortunate if a bad word goes the rounds about one and that word is true. So as soon as you answer the one most important question for us then we will send the address of a place where he may find some work. Please answer as soon as you can. Call me if necessary and just say it is all right .You see the jobs are about filled now but we think that a friend of ours will be needing some such person. Again like you, if we recommend , the person represents us and so should be all right.

With love to both of you from both of us and imagining that we can see you sitting there laughing over this whole silly life mess --seeing your prophetic words come true, we are

Lovingly yours,

Glorina Virginia and W R Banks

42-2A-98

41-16-136

THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE

24 April, 1956

Mr. William E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

When I applied for a Guggenheim last fall to support my efforts to write a book on the distinguished Negro in America I suggested to the committee of award that they write you for your judgment as to the value and feasibility of the project. I do not know if they have done so. If they did I very much want to thank you for any exertions you may have made in my behalf. The fellowship award has now been received, and I am deeply grateful to those who testified for me. I shall now try very hard to deserve the assistance and support I have received.

Faithfully yours,
R Bardolph
Richard Bardolph

February 29, 1956

41-19C-26

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am looking for information about Angelina E. Grimké, born February 20, 1805. Maybe you have some extra pamphlet or other matter material which I may have. I am collecting material about this woman.

Thank you for any consideration you may give this matter.

Sincerely
Edith Beaty

510 West End ave.
New York 24, N. Y.

41-16-139

June 4, 1956

Mr. Robert Bensberg,
2245 N. Tenth St.,
Phoenix, Arizona

My dear Mr. Bensberg:

I want to thank you very much for the dates which you kindly sent me. Mrs. Du Bois and I have been enjoying them very much.

I am deeply obliged for your thought of me.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

41-16-18

217 Quentin Road
Brooklyn 23, N. Y.
February 17, 1956

Dear doctor DuBois:

What you say in your article titled "Democracy in America", in the "National Guardian" of February 13, is both scholarly and profoundly true.

However, do not the "progressive" publications keep much truth from the ears of the masses and curtail discussion?

The news item titled "Paralysis of fear", on page 4 of the "Guardian" carrying your article, forcefully brought to my mind the poem attached hereto, and the fact that the "Worker" refused to print it. This poem was written on January 3, 1953, and every honest person must grant that it painfully and prophetically expressed THEN as it does NOW the sentiments of millions the world over. No reason was given for the rejection, but whatever it may have been, it certainly was not valid, considering the tragic importance of the matter involved.

I fear there is a lot of opportunism in the ranks of the "progressives."

Respectfully and sincerely,

Israel Bershad.
Israel Bershad.

Enclosure: "CONSCIENCE AND PROPHECY"

41-16-19

[ENC]

CONSCIENCE AND PROPHECY

41-16-19

Contrive, your honor, that inner voice to smother
On the day or night when your servility may kill
a father and a mother.
No prise, judge Irving Kaufman, your life worth living will make;
Shame will be your lot, and the curse of millions will keep you
awake.
Children as a monster of hate upon you will look;
Infamy and Kaufman will be synonymous in many a book.
Entertain no false illusions—your dirty hide you will not save!
No master long preserved the coward who, to live, sent others
to the grave.
Condemned unto eternity have you yourself and kin;
Endless will be your torture, for you've committed the blackest sin!

41-16-20

March 1, 1956

Mr. Israel Bershad
217 Quentin Road
Brooklyn 23, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Bershad:

Answering your letter of February 17, may I say that progressive publications have to be especially careful of the libel laws. I have a feeling that your poem might make trouble for any paper that publishes it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du BOIS

1917
35
52

[Biddle]

The Daily News

Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

John H. Biddle
President and Publisher

April 11, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois

A couple of years ago I read the pamphlet entitled "The Soviet Union in the Service of Peace 1917-1952 and was interested particularly in your report in the foreword entitled "An Appreciation."

I am very curious to know your present evaluation of the words that you wrote at that time, which I here quote:

> "Through persistent fog of silence and slander, I have also come to realize the stature of that son of a Georgian serf, who today heads the Soviet Union. Under attack by every liar and thief in Christendom, Joseph Stalin extended the revolution of Lenin, led a second revolution which transformed agriculture and harnessed the forces of nature to beat back Poverty, Ignorance and Disease. He crushed at fearful cost the obscene Monster of Berlin. This man with calm courage, iron restraint, hard work and clear thought, today leads the world toward Peace. On the 35th birthday of the Russian Revolution, I salute Joseph Stalin."

27-20-13

I am wondering whether you have changed your high opinion of Stalin since the "attack" comes not now from Christendom but from self-professed atheists, who seem to have changed the story that you got about crushing the obscene Monster of Berlin. They have also noted that he wasn't famous for his "calm courage" or "clear thought." These present derogators are the men who knew Stalin best.

I certainly grant you the right to your own opinions, which I read with interest because you secured your opinions at first-hand. They do not coincide with mine, although I, too, have visited factories and kholkodzes two different times and talked with the workers and peasants and have spoken in their churches. It seems to me that your opinions were rather one-sided (as almost all impressions of Russia are). In other words, are you still a devout admirer of Stalin, or would you re-phrase your estimate of him, as quoted above?

I am not writing to start any controversy. I recently returned from a 3,400 mile trip with my wife around European Russia in which we visited practically every large city.

Your comments will be greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly

John H. Biddle

John H. Biddle

JHB:LT

27-20-14

April 21, 1956

Dear Mr. Biddle:

Replying to your letter of April II, may I I say that I do not at present se any reason to change my words of 1952. To be sure I do not yet know the exact or criticism leveled lately at Stalin. But so far as I cna learn it is against one-man rule and the personal deifca- of a dictator. Also it seems to be alleged that in his later years Stalin yielded to undue influence of men like Be- ia .

My praise of Stalin was based on his carrying out of the Revolution initiated by Lenin in the face of attack of all sorts by I6 European nations; of his suppres- of the Kulaks; And of his great leadership in the Second World War. So far as I know noone has denied these deeds. That Stalin was a hard dictator is true; but if he had not been Churchill and Truman would have crushed the Soviets. I stll believe that Stalin's attitude at Yalta and Potsdam showed calmness, courage and clear thought. It is quite pos- that more knowledge of his acts in later life, may modify my judgement.

Very sincerely,

27-20-22

160

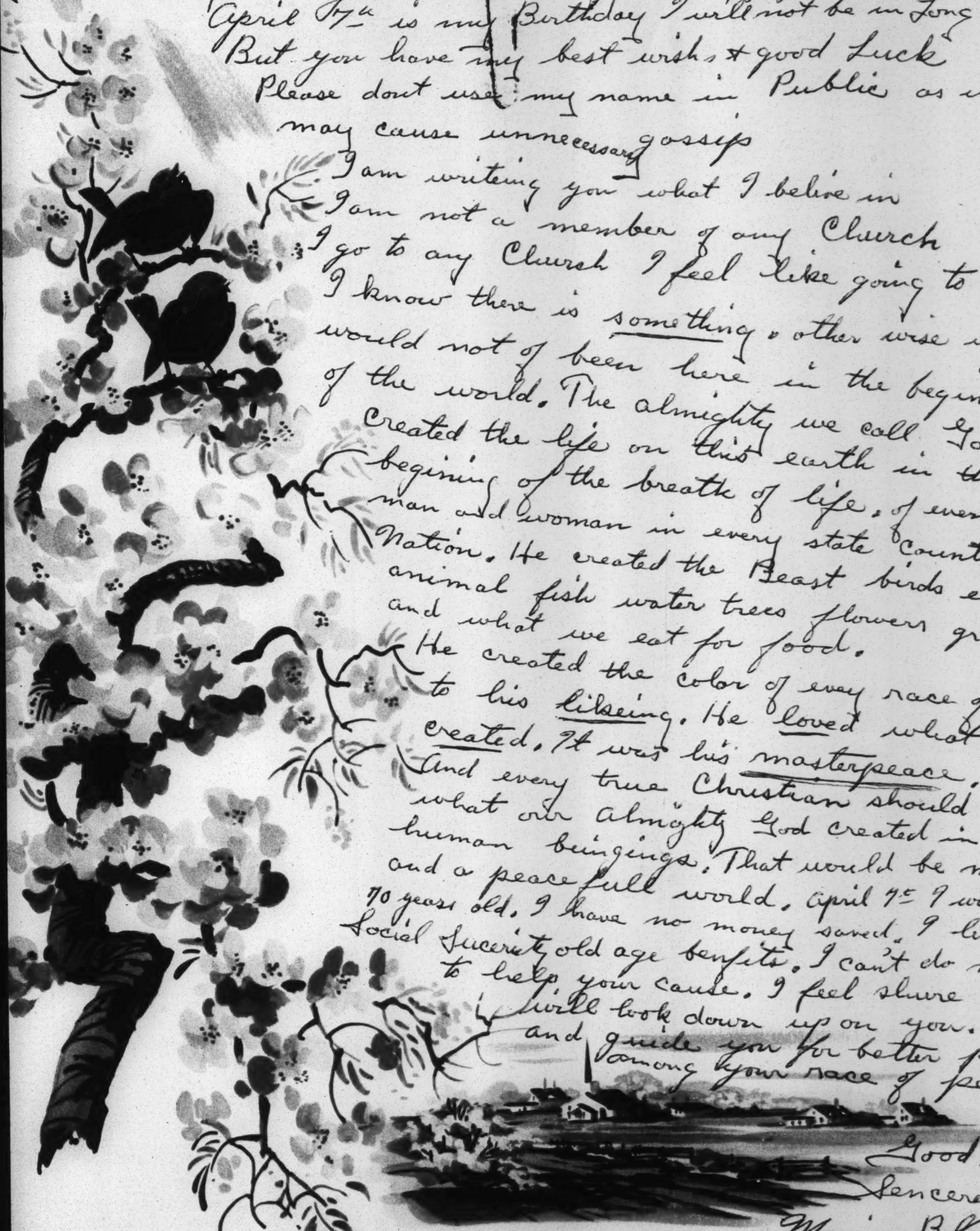
41-16-144

Long Beach, California, April 3rd 1956

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Recived your letter Integration, Segregation & Democracy
April 7th is my Birthday I will not be in Long Beach
But you have my best wish, & good Luck
Please dont use my name in Public as it
may cause unnecessary gossips
I am writeing you what I belive in
I am not a member of any Church
I go to any Church I feel like going to
I know there is something, other wise we
would not of been here in the begining
of the world. The almighty we call God
Created the life on this earth in the
begining of the breath of life, of every
man and woman in every state country
Nation. He created the Beast birds every
animal fish water trees flowers grass
and what we eat for food.
He created the color of every race of people
to his likeing. He loved what he
created. It was his masterpeace.
And every true Christian should love
what our Almighty God created in all
human beingings. That would be memorey
and a peace full world. April 7th I will be
70 years old. I have no money saved. I live on
Social Securaty old age benfits. I can't do much
to help your cause. I feel shure God
will look down up on you. Bless
and guide you for better peace
among your race of people

Good Luck
Sencerely
Mamie Black



164 U.S.A.

[1956]

This brings a lot of wishes
For your birthday happiness--
In fact, it brings far more of them
Than you could ever guess,

For when it comes to wishes,
It takes more than one or two--
It takes about a million
For someone as grand as you!

Sincerely
Susan J. Blackson
Member of Pittsburgh Branch
NAACP

41|19A-C|9

Hallmark

15B 46-7
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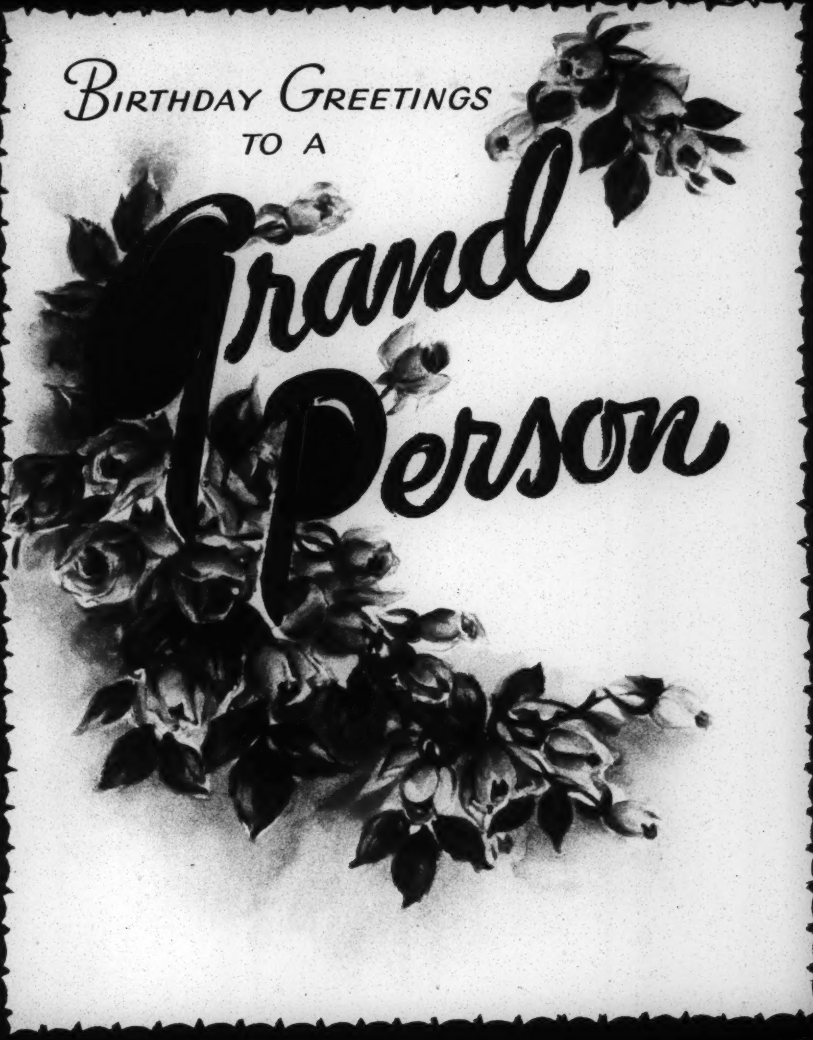

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS
TO A
Grand
Person

[Bluford]

January 6, 1955

Mrs. F. D. Bluford
A & T Colored College
Greensboro, N. C.

41/16/72

My dear Mrs. Bluford:

I have just heard of the death of President Bluford. I hasten to express my deep regret and to offer you the condolence of myself and wife.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

ESTABLISHED 1838
THE BOBBS-MERRILL-COMPANY-INC.
PUBLISHERS · · · INDIANAPOLIS 7

BUCKLIN MOON
NEW YORK EDITOR

468 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16
MURRYHILL 4-6950

42/2A/73

May 11, 1956

W. E. B Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sorry but no one around here seems to feel that we could successfully market such a book as you mention. I do hope that you will find a publisher that takes a slightly more positive position, because unless you do there seems little sense in wasting your time.

Sincerely,

Bucklin Moon

Happy Birthday

1956 FE[illegible] 22

41-192-4

41-16-133

•NBA210 BDA DL PD=NK NASHVILLE TENN 22 147PMC=

DR W E B DUBOIS=
31 GRACE CT=

:BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO AN AUTHOR WHOSE EMINENCE INCREASED WITH THE YEARS FROM A LIBRARY WHICH HIS BOOKS HAVE BEEN READ WITH UNFALLING INTEREST FOR MORE THAN HALF CENTURY=

:ARNA BONTEMPS·

BY WESTERN UNION

735-55

41-16-133

January 6, 1956

Mr. Paul Bremen
Maasstraat 77 hs
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Dear Mr. Bremen:

Thank you for your holiday greetings. I wonder if you would be kind enough to let me have a copy of your Dutch translation of my "Litany of Atlanta." I would appreciate it.

We wish you a Happy New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

41-16-158

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York
February 11, 1956

Mr. Paul Breman
Nicolaas Maesstraat 77 hs
Amsterdam, Holland

Dear Mr. Breman:

I am writing for my husband, W.E.B. Du Bois, because an unusually heavy lecture schedule this month leaves him little time even to write promised articles.

He deeply appreciates your letter of February 3rd together with the magazine "Podium". Unfortunately he cannot read your translation of his "Litany of Atlanta" but he can see how well you have preserved the original form. German is a second language with him and so the lines are not wholly indistinguishable.

Dr. Du Bois has shared your letters with me and I find your approach to Negro literature most interesting. Would that more people had such an "hobby"! My work in this field has been in a lighter vein than that of my erudite husband. In addition to a number of books for young people I have done two fictional biographies of Negroes whose names should be preserved in history. My husband wanted to send you a token of appreciation and yesterday I mailed to you two books: one, a 50th anniversary edition of his "Souls of Black Folk", and a copy of my own "Your Most Humble Servant", the story of Benjamin Banneker, an 18th century Negro of whom (I guess) you have never heard.

Quite likely you will find material in "Souls of Black Folk" for translation. May I say that I should be most happy of some publisher there might consider making "Your Most Humble Servant" available to readers in Holland.

You would, I know, be interested in reading an article just published in "Presence Africaine", a magazine whose address is: 17, rue de Chaligny, Paris, 12. In the December-January issue Dr. Du Bois has an article entitled "Africa and the American Negro Intelligentsia."

With cordial greetings,

Sincerely,

(Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois)

The above is our home address.

2980 BRIGHTON 12th STREET
BROOKLYN 35, N. Y.
SH-3-1150

[BRIGHTON
COMMUNITY
CIRCLE]

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Brooklyn N. Y.

L

Dear Sir -

I am writing to you in the name of the Brighton Community Center 3200 Coney Island Ave. B'Klyn, N. Y. We would like you to speak at our Sunday nite Forum on any Sunday evening that is convenient for you concerning the situation in the south or any other topic that you choose.

I will phone you in a few days to discuss this further.

Respectfully Yours
George Barkow

$25
Apr 29
or May

41-16-109

2980 BRIGHTON 12th STREET
BROOKLYN 35, N. Y.
SH-3-1150

42-4A-173

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 W 26th. St.
N. Y. C.

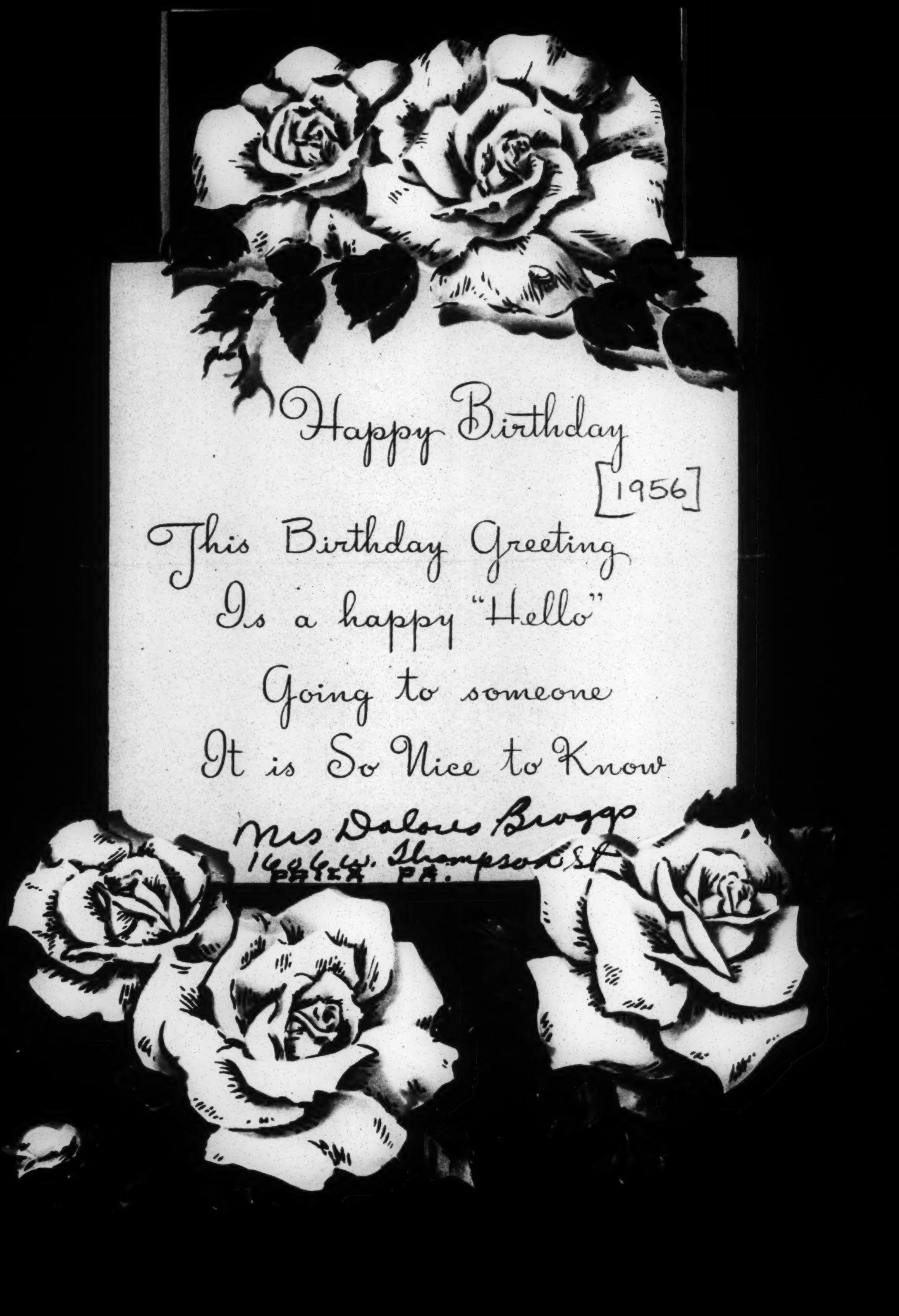
Dear Sir -

In regards to recent correspondence, I wish to arrange for you to lecture for us on Sun. May 20th. 8.30 P. M. We will arrange to transport you to and from your home. Our address is Brighton Community Center 3200 Coney Island Ave.
B'Klyn N. Y.

I would appreciate your acknowledgement of this arrangement.

Sincerely Yours
George Barkow

Ans Apr 21



Happy Birthday

[1956]

This Birthday Greeting
Is a happy "Hello"
Going to someone
It is So Nice to Know

Mrs Dolores Briggs
1646 W. Thompson St
PHILA PA.

An ARTISTIC Card
TRADE MARK REG.
MADE IN U.S.A.
1253 B

41/19A-C/10

41-19C-30

Feb. 24, 1956
1606 W. Thompson St
Phila 21, Pa.

Dear Dr. Dubois;

I was reading the Pittsburgh (Feb 25) Courier and came across a article about you which was very nice, the name Horigon By P. L. Prattis which I read each week. The author asked the readers to drop you a line or two, which was very nice. So this is why I'm writing.

Happy Birthday to You and I hope you'll have many more.

I've all ways been interested in reading any kind of literature on our Race. I am making a note or list of the book you have. I would like to know if these books are still available?

If so, Do they Come in regular
book form (large) or Can I get them
in the smaller books. I would
like to get them all, also
Enclopedia Of the Negro 1933-45

I would appreciate it
Very much if You would
recommend a place where
they are avabile. Thank you.

Yours Truly

Mrs Dolores Briggs

[Brooklyn Compass Club]

41-16-31

June 8, 1956

W.E.B. Du Bois
32 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois: Re: June 24th Symposium

This letter is to confirm our telephone conversation in which you agreed to speak at the above symposium under the auspices of the Brooklyn Compass Club. We very much welcome your participation and would like to advise you of the following particulars:

TOPIC: Working Class Policy in the '56 Elections

SPEAKERS: W.E. B. Du Bois [illegible]istinguished educator, lecturer and author of many prominent works on Negro history.
Farrell Dobbs - Socialist Workers Party candidate for President
David Goldway - Executive Secretary of the Jefferson School
Clifford T. McAvoy- Former ALP Mayorality and Gubernatorial candidate.

DATE & TIME: Sunday, June [illegible]th - 8 P.M.

PLACE: Sunrise Manor, 16[illegible] Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

We are already proceeding with the leaflet distribution and other publicity. Your suggestions and cooperation in insuring the success of this meeting would be most welcome.

We trust the above is satisfactory and look forward to your participation in our symposium.

Sincerely

THE BROOKLYN COMPASS CLUB

BY; Julie Daniels
Julie Daniels, Chman

[BROOKLYN HGTS. ASSOC.]

LAW OFFICES
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IRVING G. IDLER
JOHN A. HAYES, JR.
RALPH J. MURPHY

WHITEHALL 4-4240
CABLE "FERGHAY"
NEW YORK

January 25, 1956

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

As Chairman of the Cleanliness Committee of the Brooklyn Heights Association, your letter of January 17, 1956 has been turned over to me for attention.

As I live in the vicinity, I will personally keep my eye on the sidewalk on the North side of Grace Court and will also contact the Captain of the 84th Precinct.

As it is the policy of our organization to make every endeavor to secure the voluntary cooperation of property owners within our boundaries, I will also write to the owners of the premises in question reminding them of their obligations and also advise them of the existing conditions.

I trust that in one way or another we will be able to clear up this situation.

Thanking you for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Irving G. Idler

IGI/w

EAGLE-A
COUPON BOND

41-19C-25

HOME OFFICE OF THE JOHN HANCOCK MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY AT 200 BERKELEY STREET, BOSTON, WAS COMPLETED IN 1949 AND IS THE TALLEST STRUCTURE IN BOSTON. FROM THE OBSERVATION GALLERY ON THE 26TH FLOOR ONE CAN SEE 65 MILES INLAND AND 25 MILES OUT TO SEA.

BOSTON, MASS.
FEB 23
11 30 PM
1956

Dear Dr. Dubois,

Do you remember speaking in this building a few years ago? I was at a Community Church program when you spoke of your passport which the U.S. Government had recently seized. Glad to hear Robeson was finally permitted to go to Canada. How is Council on African Affairs doing?

Long Live the Fighters for Peace!

Arnold Brown P.O. Box 62
Boston 1, Mass.

POST CARD

Dr. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

[Brown]

41-16-138

June 4, 1956

Mr. Louis Burnham
c/o Freedom
139 West 125 Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Burnham:

I have in my hands a note reminding me that you have borrowed a book of mine on the domestic slave trade. I wonder if you would return it sometime soon.

I trust this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

41-16-9

August 9, 1956

Mr. Louis Burnham

My dear Mr. Burnham:

A National Paul Robeson Committee in England is planning to republish Shirley Graham's biography. They need, however, a final chapter covering Paul's career since 1944. Shirley cannot furnish this. She is in the hospital on account of a badly injured leg, and will probably be incapacitated until September.

What I have in mind is to consult with you and Hunton and to write a few pages myself, not so much as a part of the book but as a sort of postscript. For that purpose I would like to have a conference here at my office at 4 p. m. Friday, August 17, or this might be arranged at my house the same evening. I hope very much that you can come. Kindly let me hear from you, at your convenience. I shall be out of town at Bay Shore where Shirley is hospitalized between now and that date, but I can be reached in care of Abbott Simon, Fire Island, 4-5978-M.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

Dec. 6th

50 WEST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois -

Last night I read myself to sleep with that well known soporific the N.Y. Post. Since you had mentioned not having heard about Dr. Reddick I thought the enclosed might be of some interest.

Our warm thanks to you and Shirley for coming. Lionel and I had a lovely time and we send you both our warmest greetings.

With deepest admiration - affection and respect — Louise (Burnham

27-20-5

3806 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois
March 27, 1956

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois

Honorable Sir;

It is with real pleasure that our artists group here in Chicago present to you the folio sent under separate cover observing Negro History and Brotherhood. We have recieved so much inspiration from you that we felt you should have a copy. The five portraits of you were done by me. I am the wife of Charles Gordon Burroughs whom you have also had great influence upon. He joins with me in sending you and your wife our very best wishes and fond regards.

Very cordially yours

Margaret Taylor Burroughs

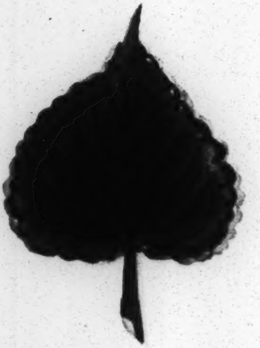
Margaret Taylor Burroughs

41-104-14

May your Birthday be so jolly,
So full of joy and cheer,
That you'll have
enough left over
To last right through the year.

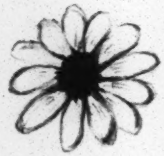
The happiest birth-day
ever, to an unknown
friend - Sylvia Burton

[1956]



Just sending you
this greeting
In the very
warmest way
Wishing you
sincerely
A very happy day.

Very sincerely
S. Jay Bush



41/19A-C/7

SLIM
JIMS
by
Hallmark

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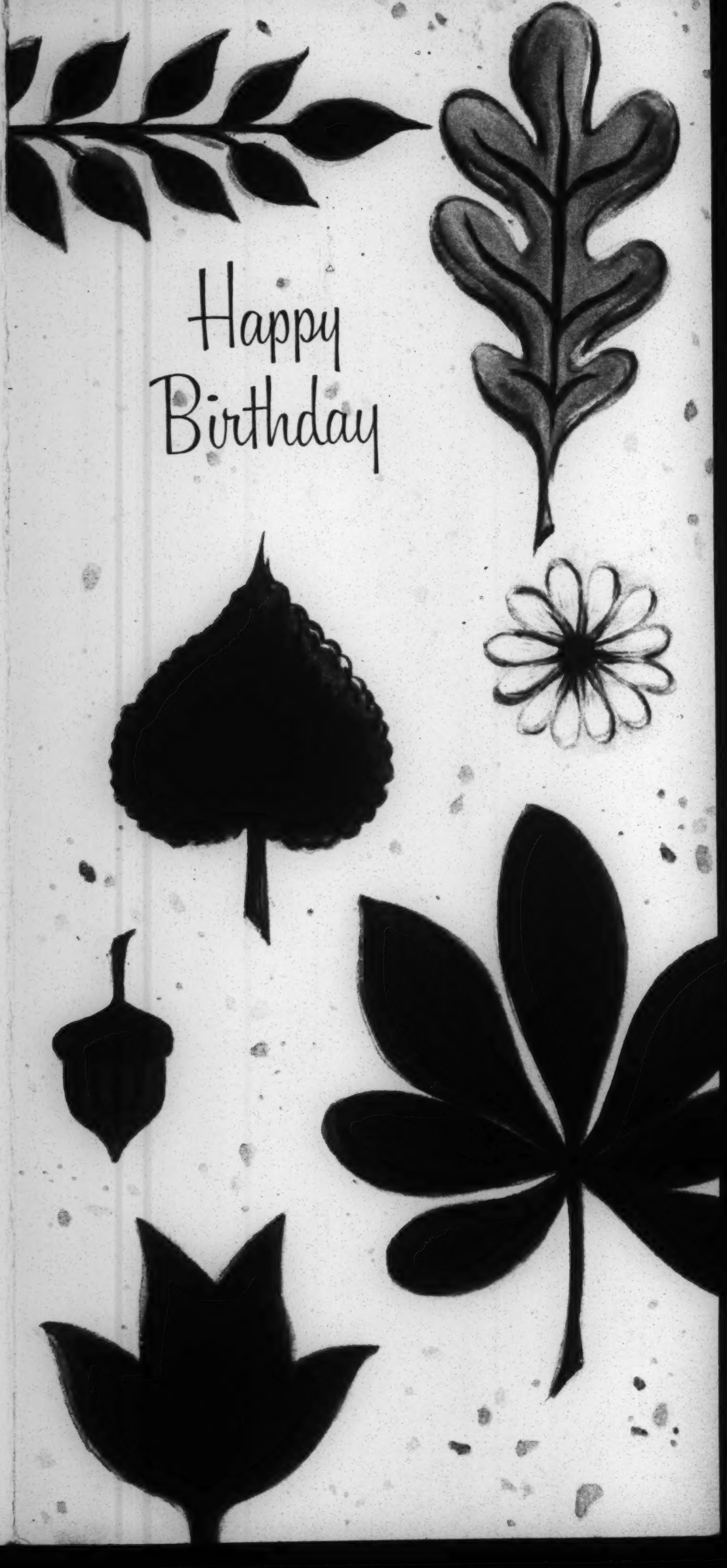

Happy
Birthday

NEW YORK, N.Y. 57
FEB 23
8-PM
1956

SUPPOR
YOUR CRUS
FOR FREED

41/19A-C/6

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2
N.Y.

S-Jay Bush 676 St. Nicholas Ave, NYC 30

[California Labor School]

c
o
p
y

PRESS RELEASE
from CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL
321 Divisadero Street
San Francisco 17, California
UN 3-3023

". . . FROM A PIGEON'S MOUTH"

by Estolv E. Ward

San Francisco, January 26 -- The California Labor School is a very special sort of educational institution. More than almost any other, it is adorned and embellished by the people who learn from it, or teach for it, or support it, or just generally love it.

4/10/56

Because this is so, the attack now being mounted against the School by Attorney General Brownell, using the McCarran Internal Security Act and its SACB, also has to have a special quality. But between the two atmospheres there is the sharpest possible contrast.

The School accentuates the positive in human beings. The people who crowd into its lecture halls and classrooms are lively, articulate, full of questions and hopes and ideas. Their eyes are alight with interest. If they have personal problems, the School is a place where they can lay such aside to study the more enveloping problems of human beings in the large. Here visitors and students find a never-failing radiation of candid optimism that clarifies the present and points toward the future in the light of objective knowledge.

In the arena where the School's prosecutors hold forth, the atmosphere is bleak and grim. The hearing room has a gent with a gun in a holster and bullets in his belt at one end. At the other end, high up on a dias, sits a gent with no gun and no bullets, but twice as deadly. In between are the attorneys for the Department of Justice, their stool pigeons, and the reporters for the commercial press. Some of the reporters collaborate eagerly in an attempt to make purchased testimony sound like gospel truth. Others, bored stiff, catch up on their rest.

In the McCarran Act courtroom there is no flash of wit -- except perhaps when the defense attorney gets a word in edgewise. Things do happen that under other circumstances might bring snorts or gasps or even laughter. For instance, when Defense Attorney George Andersen asked a professional informer: "Isn't it true that your husband once sought to have you committed to a mental institution?" her reply was, "I don't remember." If there is any inherent humor in such an exchange, it is overlaid by the contemporary tragedy of our jurisprudence which permits such witnesses to damage honest people and ruin progressive institutions.

In the hearing room there is little save the plodding monotony of the government's voice: "Do you know Joe Blow? Where did you meet him? Was he a member of . . . . . ? How do you know? Did he have a connection with the Labor School? Was he a student, a teacher, lecturer, sponsor, contributor?"

The monotony of the questions is matched by the monotony of the answers. The witnesses, all trained at the art of informing, reply in a studious, deliberate refrain that contains a sing-song quality. (No pun intended). They give their flat little answers, and an occasional muffled sound from among the audience is the only hint of drama. A victim has been given a physical description that does not fit, the time and place stated make identification an obvious lie, names and reputations are juggled with utter recklessness -- but so what?

One brief word from a pigeon's mouth sends somebody's job winging on the breeze. One lie told sets in motion a whole train of ugly events, causing untold pain to the direct victims and serving warning on others to avoid any thought or action that might lead to the same fate. For a political smear does not wipe off as easily as mud.

Then there is the business of parallelism. The perfect example came this week when the government introduced a letter, taking great pains to prove that it was on the School's letterhead and was signed by its director. "What are you trying to show by this letter?" demanded Andersen. "All it shows is that the School is for peace."

"But," retorted the government attorney, "The Communist Party is also for peace."

"And so is Ike!" came a whisper from the back of the room. But that voice did not make the record.

Parallelism! It is one of the great vices of our time. By it good things are made to appear evil, and evil things are made to appear good. Virtue is stood upon its head; black becomes white. Americanism is twisted into un-Americanism, and all who disagree with Herbert Brownell become traitors.

Sic semper tyrannis!

#######

4/10/57

**DEFENSE
SUSTAINER
DRIVE**

100

california labor school

321 Divisadero • San Francisco 17 • UNderhill 3-3023

FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

San Francisco, February 23, 1956 -- In hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board under the McCarran Act, the California Labor School today offered closing arguments blasting the Act as an unconstitutional thought control measure. After Defense Attorney George Andersen gave the legal argument, Director Holland Roberts of the School made a closing statement, excerpts from which follow:

"What we face here is an attempt, using a clearly unconstitutional law, to kill a school. Also, it is much more, for the McCarran Act is an attempt to steal away the basic liberties of all Americans. Let it succeed, and all the rights of political freedom -- including the right to criticize the government and seek change by democratic means -- will be damaged or wiped out.

41/6/14

"Until the advent of the McCarran Act, no agency of the Federal Government ever dared to violate the First Amendment and trespass upon the freedom of the scholar and the school.

"We have sat dutifully in the hearing room and listened to as contemptible a batch of paid informers and spies upon opinion as ever took a perjured oath. The witnesses ranged down the mental scale from those who could remember names and nothing else to unfortunates who became confused or hysterical on the witness stand, got themselves trapped in childish misstatements and testified to such obvious irrelevancies as to melt the scorn of the observer into pity.

"The sum of all their evidence was an attempt to smear the reputations of several hundred persons, prominent and ordinary, and to do it on the basis of hearsay, innuendo, and gossip, reaching back into times long gone with memories that were patently unequal to the task. . . . None of their testimony showed that the school had taught, or advocated, or in any way fostered rebellion, revolution, force and violence, or subversion in any form. On the

(more)

evidence, the School stands vindicated.

"What we are suffering from, it would seem, is a hangover from war fever, of which adoption of the McCarran Act was part and parcel, which brought us into disrepute abroad and which we Americans are coming to regret more deeply with each passing month.

"The introduction of evidence and the production of witnesses under the circumstances required by the McCarran Act would constitute a sullying and defiling of the Constitution. In such an act neither the School nor I can participate.

"While we believe we are entitled to acquittal at the hands of the Subversive Activities Control Board, we realize that it is, after all, an agency established for what we believe are unlawful purposes under an unconstitutional Act. Therefore, it is not surprising that already we are looking beyond whatever verdict the Board may hand down and are preparing to take our case to the courts -- and, if necessary, to the Supreme Court.

"The California Labor School is pledged to uphold the right to teach, to seek after and expound the truth without fear or prejudice. It is determined to continue offering, to whomever may care to listen, the right to learn from labor's viewpoint."

Director Roberts quoted former President Truman as saying the McCarran Act was a "terrible mistake"; he quoted President Eisenhower as opposing the "book burners" and supporting academic freedom; he quoted Professor Alexander Meiklejohn on the meaning of the First Amendment to the Constitution and Dr. Robert M. Hutchins on the intimidation that McCarthyism has brought upon educators generally; he quoted the New York Times in opposition to oppressive legislation, and the AFL and the CIO in specific opposition to the McCarran Act.

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11/10/54

DEFENSE SUSTAINER DRIVE

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FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

February 9, 1956

Dr. W. E B DuBois
Thirty-One Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

41-10H-30

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are happy to know that you are to be on the West Coast and that you will come to work with us. We have a very special need for your contribution.

Our SACB hearing will be completed in late February or early March. We are now planning a major meeting in our defense and we would like you to be the leading speaker. The topic we suggest is one which would tie together the long struggle of the Negro people for the right to learn with the fight which our school is making to teach the truth. As you know our school has pioneered on the West Coast in bringing forward the necessity of studying the history and problems of the Negro people and of the working people. It is for this, and because we have unswervingly stood for peace, that the Attorney-General and the forces he represents are trying to destroy us.

I am now canvassing the possibility for a second lecture and will write you about it as soon as I have your reply.

I am noting below the dates we have suggested in order of preference.*
Would you indicate which are possible for you? If you could come earlier, that would be good.

Be assurred that we will never pause in the fight to maintain our rights to teach and the people's rights to learn freely in schools of their own choosing.

Every good wish,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts, Director
California Labor School

HR:ps
Labor donated

* Friday, March 30; Friday, April 6; Friday April 13; Sunday, April 15.

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York
February 14, 1956

Dr. Holland Roberts
California Labor School
31 Divisadaro Avenue
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. Roberts:

Dr. Du Bois asks me to let you know that April 13 or/and April 15 will be excellent for him. He cannot come to you before going to Los Angeles because of commitments here.

As a matter of fact, he is working at top speed these days - conducting a class at Jefferson School, [illegible] Guardian articles, frequent lectures. Today he is finishing a booklet requested by Jean Lafitte which has required more time than he expected. He is, however, in excellent health.

Dr. Lovett's death is a great loss. He served long and honorably. The Chicago Peace Committee writes, "We feel the best tribute we can give Dr. Lovett is to continue and strenthen our work in every way possible."

We appreciate the struggle you are waging out there on the Pacific coast. Ultimate victory is certain. We hope that it will not be too long delayed. I plan to accompany my husband on his trip west, so I too can look forward to another visit in San Francisco.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois)

41-10H-28

DEFENSE
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FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

March 2, 1956

Shirley Graham
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Shirley Graham:

41-10 H29

It is good news that you are coming with Dr. Du Bois on the trip west. Plans are going forward for the meeting on April 13 here in San Francisco, and we are negotiating with friends in Oakland for an east bay meeting there on April 15. We will have word on the April 15 meeting for you soon. Everyone is much interested in the forthcoming trip. It is a wonderful thing to have such a man as your husband among us, leading the great fight for Peace and Democratic rights of the People. I am of course very much interested in the booklet you mentioned which he is doing for Jean Laffitte.

I know you will be interested in the enclosed releases. We hope you will find time to read and comment on the pamphlet, "Scholar and School." It is a basic statement which we hope will enlist the interest of professionals to whom we send it throughout the country. I would value your opinion of it.

Would you let me know if you are available for meetings while you are in San Francisco, and if so, suggest some possible topics on which you might speak.

Every good wish to you both,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts

HR/mm

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FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

March 7, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Thirty-One Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

41-10H-31

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Rev. F. D. Haynes, pastor of the Third Baptist Church of San Francisco, has asked me to extend you his cordial invitation to share his pulpit with him on Sunday morning, April 15. As you may recall, Rev. Haynes is an outstanding civic leader and pastor of the largest San Francisco Negro church. Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the SUN-REPORTER, has spoken to me about the possibility that you might make such a presentation and I know he would be very happy if you found it possible to accept.

In talking with Rev. Haynes this morning he said that he would be very happy to offer you the major portion of the time in his services.

Probably I should also mention that Rev. Haynes was one of the sponsors and leaders of the successful mass meeting held in San Francisco recently at which Dr. Howard spoke in defense of the rights of the Negro people of Mississippi. Unity in strength demonstrated at this meeting gave a powerful impulse to the entire community and I am certain that you would be warmly welcomed for your leadership and unflagging work.

I would be appreciative if you could let me know whether you can accept Rev. Haynes' invitation.

All good wishes,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts, Director
California Labor School

HR:ps
Labor donated

PS The two meetings under the auspices of the School are the evenings of April 13 and 15, as mentioned in the earlier letter.

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DIRECTOR

41-10H-27

March 14, 1956

Shirley Graham,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Miss Graham:

I take the liberty of writing you because I am assisting the California Labor School in its defense against McCarran Act charges, and the forthcoming appearance here of Dr. DuBois is part of those activities. I wrote you previously, on March 6, but addressed the letter to 22 W. 26th St., New York. It was returned yesterday.

As Dr. Roberts has doubtless told you, we have a meeting definitely scheduled for Dr. DuBois at the Hotel Whitcomb, San Francisco, on Friday night, April 13. We also hope to have a meeting for him in the Eastbay on Sunday, April 15, details still to be arranged. Could you be here as early as Thursday, April 12? In that case we might be able to arrange an affair honoring you personally on Thursday night, under the auspices of some of the more prominent Negroes in San Francisco. The people with whom we are working in the Eastbay are talking of having a gathering for you either Saturday or Sunday. So you see that we expect to have a full weekend for both you and Dr. DuBois.

It would be wonderful if in his Bay Region appearances Dr. DuBois could use his great prestige to dramatize the struggle for integration now going on in the South, showing how people all over the world are looking on with sympathy and encouragement. It is quite possible that he has something of this nature in mind. And of course a word from him on the fight of schools such as ours to preserve freedom of education would be much appreciated.

We hope you can send us as quickly as possible some material from Dr. DuBois out of which we can fashion a title for his speech and get a few quotes for publicity purposes.

Kindly inform me what type of accomodations you would prefer during your visit and we will be glad to arrange accordingly. We look forward with highest anticipation to your visit with us.

Sincerely,

Estolv E. Ward

Estolv E. Ward
Defense Coordinator

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FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

41-10H-32

Mar. 21, 1956

Shirley Graham,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

Dear Miss Graham:

Answering your good letter of March 17: Yes, your guess was correct. The gender is male. I am quite used to having people puzzle over my name, which is the only one of its kind and therefore provides no clue.

From among the subjects offered by Dr. DuBois, we have chosen that concerning deterioration of education in the United States. For publicity purposes, we are titling it "The Know-Nothings Ride Again."

Holland Roberts has just received your husband's letter about speaking in Rev. Haynes' church, and will write him direct after conferring with Rev. Haynes.

It now appears that the Negro community in San Francisco, and possibly to some extent in the Eastbay, will be taken up that Sunday afternoon and evening with a huge meeting planned for Dr. Abernathy. This complicates matters insofar as holding a meeting on that day for you is concerned. It also makes the prospect of an Eastbay meeting for Dr. DuBois somewhat less enticing. Nothing is as yet definite about the Eastbay, and I will have to let you know later on that score.

Would it be possible for you to attend a luncheon or reception in your honor in San Francisco on that Friday or Saturday? Such an affair would not interfere with any evening engagements. In discussing possibilities with a prominent Negro woman here, she inquired what organizations of Negro women you belong to. Evidently she felt such information would be helpful.

And would it be possible for you and Dr. DuBois to attend briefly an affair after the meeting Friday night, where people can have a chance to meet you both personally? There are many, many people who would jump at the chance, if such a party could be arranged.

We are glad to learn that you will revisit old friends here. If there is anything in addition we can do to make your stay pleasant, please call upon us.

Sincerely,

Estolv E. Ward

Estolv E. Ward, Defense Coordinator

Mrs Harriet Eddy
133 - 30th Ave
San Francisco, Calif

Prof. Frank W. Weymouth
3950½ La Salle Ave
Los Angeles.

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FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

April 26, 1956

42-2A-51

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
22 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are still having friendly comments upon the lecture you gave for us at the defense meeting at the Whitcomb Hotel and all of them are congratulatory.

When I talked with you during your visit at the school you agreed that we might publish the lecture. We would be very happy to send it to the printer, if you will let us have a copy.

Our bookstore manager will soon be sending you an order for some of your books to replenish our supply. Of course, we would be very happy, if you had time to autograph them.

We all hope very much that you can come again soon to the San Francisco Bay Area and that it may be possible for us to work out plans with you for a series of lectures.

Please remember me to your wife. Every good wish,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts

HR/1

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DIRECTOR

Dear Friend,

Knowing your interest in all that concerns freedom of thought and education, we send you the enclosed pamphlet, "SCHOLAR AND SCHOOL - NEW TARGETS FOR BIGOTRY."

This publication states the facts about the California Labor School - the facts ignored by the public press. In getting the truth before you, the School is not only fighting for its own existence; it is fighting to keep alive the traditional American concepts of the rights of man - to keep the Constitution in force as a guarantee of liberty.

The pamphlet reveals - and the entire effort of the School is a living document of its truth - that the preservation of these rights is a matter of vital concern to every teacher, every scholar, every American. Freedom or enslavement - those are the issues we place before you.

41/10h/2

We know you want to help. You can help in two ways: You can sign and return to us the enclosed statement in support of the principle of academic freedom. And you can send money to aid in financing the expensive appeal procedure and public relations campaign that lies just ahead.

By either action, or both, you will affirm your conviction that the schools of this country must and shall remain free.

Sincerely,

Holland Roberts

HOLLAND ROBERTS, Director

tear off

op34cio

Society should demand that a teacher be able and truthful; it has no right to impose upon him conformity of thought. If it attempts to do so, it thereby suppresses truth, makes cowards or liars out of teachers, and condemns students to abandon the right to think. It thus makes slaves of schools, teachers, and students alike.

With these thoughts in mind, I oppose the use of the McCarran Act or any other repressive legislation against American schools, public or private; and I support acts intended to strengthen and perpetuate my ideals of academic freedom.

(Signed) ______________________________

for the campaign $________

Address ______________________________

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HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

41-16-157

Dear Friend,

41|10|48

As one of those who signed Dr. Frank Weymouth's appeal for postponement of the SACB hearings against the California Labor School until such time as the Supreme Court has ruled on the constitutionality of the McCarran Act, we know you must be interested in recent developments in the case.

Brushing aside all appeals, the Department of Justice rushed into the hearings and has presented a succession of professional witnesses, of a type which has so often been caught in contradictions and perjury as to deeply trouble the consciences of all law-abiding Americans.

We think our School has stood up well, even under the impossible odds existing in a staged hearing. To give the atmosphere of the hearing and its contrast to the activities of the School, we have prepared a writer's impression of the current situation.

A copy is enclosed which may help provide an insight that would be difficult or impossible to obtain from reading the commercial press.

Thank you again for your interest in our case. While such hearings reverse normal process and require the accused to prove innocence rather than the accuser to prove guilt, we are more confident than ever that justice can be made to prevail. If necessary we intend to fight all the way up to the Supreme Court. To do anything less would be to fail the cause of academic freedom, and to acquiesce in the imposition of thought control on the people of our country.

Sincerely,

Holland Roberts
HOLLAND ROBERTS, Director

HR/FC
op34cio
1956/2

41-16-157

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York
~~N~~ January 3, 1956

Mr. Angus Cameron
Cameron Associates, Inc
100 West 23rd Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Angus Camerson:

I tried to get you on the phone this morning but fully realize how your crowded days make phone calls almost impossible. My husband always handles his business more correctly and writes letters. I am taking his advice now.

First, a possible opening has appeared for my unpublished novel and I need the manuscript now with Maxmillian Becker. I have only a rather battered third carbon copy which I feel I must keep in my own hands. Will you please communite with Mr. Becker as soon as possible on this? If its available I'd like to get it right away. He can either send it to your office and I'll call for it there or I can myself pick it up at his office.

Second: Messner's has recently published in their biographical series my "Booker T. Washington". They have published it in what they call their teen-age books but the nature of the information is intended to recommend itself to any readers interested in Negro History or Negro contributions. I wonder if Liberty Book Club might consider it. With this in mind, I have asked Messner's to send you a copy.

We do hope that, in spite of certain clouds on the horizon, the New Year brings you some good promises. Every day now is a victory won for tomorrow will be brighter.

Sincerely,

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publishers, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. WAtkins 4-2706

41-16-96

April 2, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Today I sent you a set of proofs of a kind of pamphlet in poetry, which we intend to publish next month. I feel sure that Montgomery, Alabama, Money, Mississippi and Other Places will speak for itself with you. Let me say only that we are beginning with an initial printing of 17,000 copies and we think, particularly in the paper edition which is priced at 25¢ per copy, the book may find an audience very much greater than that.

We hope you will find in these poems the same pertinence and merit we feel they have. Naturally we will appreciate very much any comment you may wish to make.

May I say one thing about the poems? The author has read some of them to audiences of Americans, both Negro and white, and the response has been of such tremendous warmth and jubilation that we are constrained to feel perhaps this book may make an important contribution to the fight which we all feel so strongly about.

I am enclosing some copy which we have written about the poems. If I did not feel that this book might be important I would not ask you to spend even the short time it will take to read Miss Merriam's poetic pamphlet.

As you can see, the book is in page proofs and I think we all feel that time in this matter is of the essence. We would appreciate your earliest response.

Sincerely,

Angus Cameron

Angus Cameron

AC:ar
encl.

264

41-16-169

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publishers, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. WAtkins 4-2706

April 26, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Many, many thanks for your letter of April 21. Can I come in to see you next Tuesday morning? Or if not then, any other time next week after Monday.

Sincerely,

Angus Cameron (ar)
Angus Cameron

AC:ar

264

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publishers, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. WAtkins 4-2706

May 21, 1956

42-2A-62

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Because galley proofs are admittedly difficult to read, may we please replace them by sending you these two printed editions of Eve Merriam's poetry? Also, I am enclosing a copy of a letter which Mrs. Roosevelt wrote after reading Montgomery, Alabama, Money, Mississippi, and Other Places.

It may interest you to know that the first printing of this "pamphlet in poetry" is 17,000 copies which is quite a large edition for poetry these days. From the response of all types of audiences to these poems read from pulpits and public platforms we feel confident that many people, Negro and white, will welcome and share the sentiments expressed here.

Naturally, we are most eager for your own comment.

Sincerely,

Angus Cameron

Angus Cameron

AC:ar
encl.

264

41-16-167

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publishers, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. WAtkins 4-2706

June 1, 1956

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Your letter of May 29 arrived this morning, and I was reading it when Miss Merriam came in. She appreciated, and so did I, your pithy comment about the poems. You will be glad to know they are getting a real response from all kinds of people. The Highlander Folk School think they can distribute 100 to 200 copies, and the Friends Service Committee ordered 115 copies this morning.

We would very much appreciate any suggestions you might have about people to whom we should send complimentary copies who might help with the distribution or publicity of the book. We are sending out hundreds of complimentary copies to all kinds of people all around the country.

Sincerely,

Angus Cameron

Angus Cameron (ar)

AC:ar

264

41-16-168

June 4, 1956

Mr. Angus Cameron,
c/o Camerch Associates,
100 West 23 Street,
New York City 14, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Cameron:

I wish that every American who is interested in the Negro problem would read Eve Merriam's very sympathetic poems. They are literature and they tell a moving story.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publishers, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. WAtkins 4-2706

42-2A-124

June 26, 1956

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I was glad to have your little note and the copy of the letter from Ken McCormick. I hope the submission of the manuscript has produced interest on the part of Doubleday. I feel sure that Ken McCormick will be a very sympathetic reader.

Sincerely,

Angus Cameron

Angus Cameron

AC:ar

264

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publishers, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. WAtkins 4-2706

July 18, 1956

42-2A-146

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Well, it looks as if we are now in the position of saying two down and one to go. The man at Little, Brown and Company is Mr. Ned Bradford, who is the Editor and Chief. The address is: 34 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. As I think I may have told you the last time we talked, Ned Bradford is a man who has had a particular interest, both as a person and as an editor, in the relationship of the races in the United States and in American History. I am sure that his personal inclination would be in favor of the manuscript. I can't predict, of course, how much the publishing house itself has been affected by recent events in a manner that would be favorable to the manuscript.

If Little, Brown rejects it, let me know, and we'll see where we can go next.

Sincerely,

Angus Cameron

Angus Cameron

AC:ar

264

41-16-67

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publishers, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. WAtkins 4-2706

September 7, 1956

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I'm returning the letter from Cammann Newberry. It seems to me that the three people I recommended to you out of all the editors I know were those most likely to have a favorable response. Since they have all acted, in my opinion, shamefully, lets try some of them that one might not have any expectations from, necessarily. Did you ever try Dial Press? If not, let me suggest that you send the manuscript to Mr. James Silberman there, and see what his reaction might be. Actually, I think his personally would be favorable. I don't know about the policy of that company now, however.

Perhaps sometime soon I can drop in your office one morning for a visit. I would love to do that.

Sincerely,

Angus

Angus Cameron

Wrote Sept 11
461 Fourth Av

AC:ar
encl.

264

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publishers, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y. WAtkins 4-2706

41-16-61

September 14, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

All of us here are very pleased that you have agreed to contribute a paper to our anthology, Toward a Socialist U.S.A. Miss Alfred is preparing now the table of contents showing subjects as well as the writers who have agreed to contribute them. I plan to send a copy to you early next week.

In order to be doubly sure that there is a minimum of duplication in the book we would very much like to see a brief outline of your own pieces by October 15, and would hope to have the article itself by November 15. We think you will be pleased by the plan for the book and with your colleagues in its preparation.

Will you consider this letter, pending a detailed agreement, as our temporary contract? We expect to pay each of the contributors $100.00 for their contributions; $50.00 on delivery of the article and $50.00 on publication of the book.

Again thank you for your valuable cooperation in the project.

Sincerely,

Angus Cameron

Angus Cameron

AC:ar

CAMERON ASSOCIATES, INC.

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October 24, 1956

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

41/16/26

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Just a note to let you know further that your proposed article is circulating the other two who are interested in the symposium. We will be in touch with you shortly.

Sincerely,

Angus

Angus Cameron

AC:ar

264

41-19C-20

February 28, 1956.

Dr. William Burghart Dubois
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, New York.

My dear Dr. Dubois:

Reading of your Birthday in Mr. P. L. Prattis Colum, of the Local Pittsburgh Courier,as one of Many interested People, trying to express my feelings, toward all men, working in the Realm of Truth.

To me you are one of Our distinguished, leaders if there were no Leaders of Color like you, O My--- my--my, Ishiver, when it comes to my mind

what ever that is, Now this is a belated Birthday wrish to you, from the depths of our being in my blunt maner, to let you know we cared if that means anything to you, which we hope it dose. My Husband enjoins me in the hope that you will enjoy many more we find it an Honor to extend our best and deepest thoughts to you.

May the infinte, surround you and Family with succes
Kindly extend our thanks to the thoughtfull, Mr. P.
L. Prattis, thanks again.

Mr & Mrs Clarence Carter
1081 morris street,
Meadville, Pennsylvania.

7905 38th Ave. No.
St. Petersburg 4, Fla.
Feb. 1, 1956

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Friend:

I have followed your writing in the National Guardian with great interest and learning. Your work in the intellectual field stands up with the giants. Perhaps my few years of activity in this struggle does not qualify me to take issue with the old reliables. Nevertheless, I feel that I should register my optimism by taking issue with you on one insignificant point in your Jan. 30, article, A BITTER BATTLE IS SHAPING UP. In the 5th paragraph from the bottom you said, "The battle for political and civil rights; for labor uplift and monopoly control in the South in this century and the next, will be one of the bitterest the world has seen." Your statement, "--- in this century and the next --", seems to imply that the battle will rage for another century.

I fail to see how serfdom in the South can prevail while the balance of the world is throwing it off. Take the intensified industrialization of the South, with its rapid transformation of the small and middle farmers into the pauperized proletariat. Recently, the head of the University Of Florida was singing the swan song. Among other things he said, "The small farmer is retarding the South" If the small farmers could be let down slowly into the jobless working class it might not disturb them so quick, but today the liquidation of his position is so rapid it amounts to the shock treatment. Heretofore the small farmer had some choice about when to go. Not so today, he is drove like the hurricane drives sand.

What is to be done with this great increase in production from farm and factory ? It is assumed by some that it can be traded on the world market value for value, if need be. I think this is an illusion. For how can the people buy what was traded for if we cannot buy what was traded ? No sir Doctor, there is but one way out of a hole and that is UP, and we must rise soon.

Very truly yours,

Emmett Carter

Emmett Carter

27-173-56

March 1, 1956

Mr. Emmett Carter
7905 38 Avenue. No.
St. Petersburg 4, Fla.

My dear Mr. Carter:

Answering your letter of February 1, may I say that it is impossible to know how long such a social and economic problem as the South now faces will require for its solution. A century seems long to the living, but it is quite short and reasonable in the history of the world. I should be very glad if the South straightened itself out in much less time than a century, but I doubt it. As you say, "There is but one way out of a hole, and that is up." But when you add, "We must rise soon," I would advise putting the period after "rise."

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du BOIS

27-17A-73

Union Labor
South

7905 38th Ave. No.
St.Petersburg 4, Fla.
March 9, 1956

41-16-160

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of March 1, wherein you advise, "A century seems long to the living, but it is quite short and reasonable in the history of the world."

The United Agricultural Workers Union, a young independent union, has taken on the giant citrus industry. In spite of intimidation and oppression we have grown to a membership of eight thousand in some two years. This is the Union that was shot into in Lake County Florida several months back. While a majority of the fruit pickers are Negroes, the Union is made up of both Negroes and White with membership open to all races. We wage a vigorous struggle against racial prejudice.

At present the Union's main strength is centered in Polk County, Fla. Polk County produces and processes more than half the products of the industry. Fruit pickers of the UAWU have called for a strike for the week of April 2, 1956 in Polk County. We expect to have a contract, with 20 cents per field box for picking (budded) oranges in from two to four weeks striking.

Whether we gain a beachhead in the struggle in the South for labor uplift and civil rights depends to a great extent on the cooperation we get from the North. Since the greatest part of the citrus markets are in the North it offers the people there a good chance to strike a real blow for some of the lowest paid labor in the nation and at the same time discourage northern factory owners from running away to the cheap labor in the South.

It will not be easy to crack the hard shell of union busting and race hatred but it must be done before we can make any foward motion. We can do it in the near future if we can enlist the support of the rank and file in the North.

Any help we can get in the coming strike will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Emmett Carter

Emmett Carter

center book service | 206 WEST 15 STREET • NEW YORK 11 • CHELSEA 3-6499

July 11, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We have just received your check for $22.21 in payment of our invoices #8708 for $8.77 (Dec 30)
and # 8816 " 13.44 (Jan 12)

However, our records indicate that on May 19 you had sent us a check for $22.27 in payment of these same bills.

Our records indicate that, prior to receipt of your latest check, your account stood as follows:

Payments Made By You		Books Sent to You	
Oct. 25/55 —	3.00	Dec. 30 —	8.77
— May 19, '56 —	22.27	Jan 12 .	13.44
		Feb. 13 -	4.06
		June 6 .	13.10
		" 7 -	2.52
Total	25.27		$41.89

41.89
− 25.27
$16.62 owing to us.

Applying your latest check to this debit instead of ~~to~~ the 2 bills you had already paid, we now find your account has a credit balance of 22.21 − 16.62 or $5.59 against future purchases. We trust you will find this accounting correct.

Yours truly,

CENTER BOOK SERVICE
206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK

41/16/88

41-16-173

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

July 17, 1956

Center Book Service
206 West 15 Street
New York City 11

Gentlemen:

Answering your note of July 11, may I say that either you or I have got our figures mixed. You mention receiving from me October 25 a check for $3.00. I seldom if ever make a check as small as that, because the banks are now charging for each check. According to my checkbook, on October 24 I drew a check No. 914 in your favor for $14.14. Will you kindly look this up? It will make a considerable difference in our account.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du BOIS

WEBD/el

center book service | 206 W. 15 STREET • NEW YORK 11 • CHELSEA 3-6499

Sept. 8, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We are embarrassed to state that we are unable to check back your account for 1955. Our billing and receipt books have been packed away and we do not know where.

However, since our statement of your account, (showing a balance of $5.59 in your favor), is more favorable to you than your own (since you thought you owed us $22.21 when you sent us your check for $22.21 on July 9, 1956), may we suggest we allow our statement to stand. You can use the $5.59 against future purchases.

We trust this will prove satisfactory to you. If not, please inform us, and we will renew our search for the 1955 records.

Yours truly,

CENTER BOOK SERVICE
206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK

per A.S.

4/16/87

[CHEMICAL Corn Exchange Bank]

Chemical Corn Exc.
bank

June 6, 1956

Dear sir;

I have usually communicated with Mr. Sutter, former manager having had an account with one or another branch of this bank since Mr. Sutter was an office boy down town, 45 years ago.

I have recently been having difficulties with this branch. My account is small and it is quite possible that you do not care to bother with it. If so, I should like you to say so clearly. It has always been my understanding that you required a minimum balance of $500. Failing this, you made a service charge. Several times recently, a charge has been made despite the fact that my balance had not been under $500. I have complained and the charge has been refunded.

41/16/9

I am inclosing my account for May. My balance was at no time under $660, yet there was a service charge, I complained about it to the clerk who sits at the first desk to the right on entering the bank 20th st. His explanation was involved: Had I not received a letter? I told him I had not. I should have. I protested that this was certainly not my fault. He therefor promised that such a letter would be sent. It has not come. Instead, I receive this morning two refund slips. One is mine (in my wife's name) The other is for "A&W MfgCo. 89" There is no such firm or person here and never has been in the last five years. I do have another account there "31 Grace Court, Inc. "

Will you please straighten this matter out; if your bala requirements have changed, please say so; if you no longer desire these accounts, please say that. If your requirements differ from branch to branch, let me know that. For instance I live near your branch o Montague St., Brooklyn. May I hear from you soon.

Very sincerely

41/16/86

[U of Chicago]

December 26, 1956

Don Villarejo
Student Representative Party
Reynolds Club, Mandel Hall
5714 University Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

41-16-110

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Masses and Mainstream, Inc.
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you on behalf of the Student Representative Party, one of the two campus political parties at the University of Chicago. In addition to participating in student politics, we run a varied program of activities on topics of current political and social interest.

The recent advances in the area of civil rights has focused student attention on this important question. We feel that students should be exposed to many positive viewpoints dealing with this problem. We are very much interested in having you visit our campus to speak on the topic of civil rights. We would be more than willing to pay for your traveling expenses. The date that we suggest is March 1.

Thanking you in advance for your kind attention to this letter, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
Don Villarejo
Don Villarejo

41-16-176

31 Grace Court

Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

[China – Committee for Commemorating Great Figures]

November 4, 1956

His Excellency, Kuo Mo Jo,

Chairman of Committee for Commemoration

My esteemed friend:

I deeply regret that there is no chance for me to obtain a passport for the trip to China. The United States is refusing such passports and Iwould be the last to obtain one in any case. I am very sorry. There is no place in the world which I am so anxious to visit as China. I am therefore refusing your kind and generous invitation with poignant regret.

I am, sor,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

(signed) W. E. B. D.

11

[China – Committee FOR the COMMEMORATING GREAT FIGURES IN WORLD CULTURE]

41-16-88

November 19, 1956

To the Committee for the Celebration of the
Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the
Birth of Benjamin Franklin by the Peoples
Republic of China

Comrades:

Since my country refuses to allow me to accept your kind invitation to be present on this great occasion, may I have the honor of addressing a word to you by letter.

I was born 162 years later than Benjamin Franklin; but I share with him some of the same social heritage; I too was born in New England, that part of the United States which for most of its cultural life has led its thought and guided its action. I can therefore interpret his life and meaning to Asia with more clarity than many modern Americans.

Franklin was a man who could be free in thought and action to a far greater degree than most men of his day. Fortunately his gifts of mind and strength of character made this freedom of vast benefit to the world rather than the menace which it might have been in a man of lesser stature. It is significant that this fact made him, earlier than most Americans, realise that in the life of a nation, freedom must be limited and curtailed if the group or the nation makes its greatest progress and most valuable contribution to its time. Whenever a human spirit is cramped and confined, some loss to mankind may ensue; but on the other hand when anarchy and license of action are permitted on any wide scale, the loss is far greater and the injury more fatal.

This lesson Benjamin Franklin learned early in life. He was reared in the stern atmosphere of a family steeped in religious dogma, where rigid parental control was traditional. He was not allowed the type of education which he would have preferred, but education he was determined to have and he got it largely by

41-16-89

his own efforts. He rebelled against becoming a candle-maker but willingly became a printer not merely to set type but to write things which deserved to be printed. When that work was hindered, he defied parental authority and went alone out into the world. It was largely a lawless, undisciplined world into which he ventured, but he never for a moment forgot that discipline and law were necessary even if they were not imposed on the individual from without. He therefore largely made his own code of behavior and put himself under stern self-discipline. Thus he became in a peculiar sense a self-made man, in a new century and a new age.

He was born in the midst of a system of human slavery where every fifth man about him was a black slave and every other white man an indented serf. At first he did not mind this, and as a young, successful merchant, he himself sold indented servants and black slaves, along with wine, oil, fish, tea, and horses. But his public services brought him in contact with dark-skinned Indians, whom he grew to respect; he soon sensed the evils of slavery, and in his old age, he realised that freedom and slavery would not mix; he became first president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. He was born an orthodox Puritan; but he rejected dogma and died a free-thinker with no church ties. He spent most of his life among stiff-necked Quakers, and never joined their powerful ranks, yet always had their respect and co-operation. In mind, Franklin compromised and yielded, yet never lost sight of the greater objects of living.

Above all, Franklin became advocate of the unified political state rather than of the small particularistic state or of the free, unconditioned group or individual. As postmaster and merchant, he early realised that little colonial groups, separated by language, religion, and economic organization, could never grow into a United States of America. His Albany Plan of Union in 1754 was the first step toward a national federation of colonies. He was a loyal Britisher

41-16-90

who gloried in the prestige and power of a great empire. But when he went to England, he had to explain that Americans were men and not slaves of colonial imperialism. For this thesis he stood up more and more sturdily against insult and abuse, and even danger of life. He returned to America ready to appeal to revolution rather than bow to the British colonial system. He was old, sick, and tired, and needed rest. But at the call of his people he accepted the burden of putting the plight of America before France and won the alliance which made his country an independent nation.

All this, however, he could never have accomplished but for another of his characteristics which was perhaps his greatest claim to immortality: that was his curiosity about the world around him and his refusal to let his search for truth lapse without doing something about it. As soon as his business of printing, bookselling, and general trade had brought him a modest fortune, he retired to make experiments in what men then called "Natural Science." He studied animals and vegetables, land, wind, and weather; and he scanned the skies until he found there the same electricity he knew on earth. He worked as an isolated amateur, with few funds and little scientific guidance, and his intelligence and persistence gained the recognition and applause of the scientific world. When then he left his experiments and theories and went to Europe, he was known and hailed as a scientist rather than as a mere colonial politician. In that fact lay his power and his spectacular success.

In all this time, in the 84 years of his busy life, he remained honest with his own desires and appetites. He was humorous and lusty. He made love to women and reveled in the gay life of the eighteenth century Paris; he drank good liquor, played games, travelled widely and read books; he visited friends and talked with callers; wrote long letters and planned campaigns of peace and war. He lived a full and useful life, full of mistakes and triumphs and worthy of your attention today.

As an American of Negro descent, born of those ten million black slaves

41-16-91

who were stolen and transported and who toiled to make America and dreamed to make its ideals come true, I am especially glad to make contact with your great nation at the time when socialism has triumphed here and you are forging forward to make a people, free of race prejudice, devoted to Peace on Earth and especially determined to rid your working millions of that exploitation of labor which has cursed Europe, Asia, and Africa, and especially enslaved my people in America since 1619, and is not yet wholly abolished. We are still second-class citizens of the United States, even though the best Americans are striving worthily to break the last of our bonds. Men like Benjamin Franklin began our emancipation and recognition, and it is fit that through me the Negroes of America, on the occasion of Franklin's birthday, can make at least spiritual contact with the great Chinese people in the day of their finest triumph.

I salute you in the name of seventeen million of my fellows at home. Long live the Chinese Peoples Republic!

[W.E.B. DuBois to the Peoples's Republic of China on the ocassion of Benjamin Franklin's 250th Birthday]

[1956]

41-16-94

美國威廉·杜波依斯先生給大会的信

致中華人民共和國紀念富蘭克林誕生二百五十周年大会

同志們：

因为我的國家拒絕讓我接受你們善意的邀請，出席这样一个偉大的紀念会，請允許我以書面的方式講几句話。

我比富蘭克林晚生 162 年，但我和他分享了一些同一的社会遺產；我也生在新英格蘭，这个地区以它大部分的文化生活在思想上和行动上引導了美國。因此我能夠比其他現在美國人更加清楚地向亞洲介紹他的生活和意义。

富蘭克林是个远較他同时代的人更能自由思想和自由行动的人。幸运的是，他的天賦和坚强的性格使得这个自由对世界有莫大的好处，这种自由在比他身分低下的人可能成为威脅的。这个事实使他比大多数美國人更早一些地明白了，假如一个國家在当时有很大的進展，和有价值的貢献，那么，在國家生活中，自由是应該有范圍的。無論什么时候，一个人的精神受到限制，对人类來說就会有一些損失；另一方面，如果广泛地允許行为上的放縱和混乱，人类的損失就会更大，伤害也就更重些。

这个教訓，富蘭克林很早在生活里就学到了。他在一个深受宗教教义束縛家庭的嚴肅气氛中成長起來，在这个家庭里，嚴肅的家長統治是傳統性的。他自己所想要受的那种教育，他沒有得到，而他所得到的教育，都是自学來的。他反对成为一个制作臘燭的人，倒是願意作个印刷工人，不光是为排版，而是要寫些值得印刷的东西。当这件事情行不通时，他不顧家長的統治，独自一人走向生活。他進入了一个在很大程度上說沒有什么法律和紀律的世界。就是在沒有法律和紀律來管制人的时候，他也从來沒有片刻忘記法律和紀律是必要的。因之他給自己的行为規定了守則，自己嚴格地遵守。这样从特殊的意义來說，他是用自己的力量而立身于一个新的國家和一个新的时代中的。

他生于奴隸制度之中，那时每五个人当中就有一个黑奴，而每个白人都有一个奴隸。起初，他並沒有注意这件事，作为一个年輕而又走运的商人來說，他自己也把奴隸和酒、油、魚、茶、馬匹一样販賣。公共事業使他和黑色印地安人有了交往，他慢慢地尊敬起他們來了。不久，他意識到奴隸制度的罪惡。在他年老的时候，他更加明白了自由和奴隸制是不能調和的，他成为賓夕文尼亞州廢除奴隸制协会的第一任主席。他生在一个正統的清教徒家庭，但他摒棄教义，作为一个自由思想者的人，死的时候沒有行任何宗教仪式。他一生大部分时間都和頑固的清教徒生活在一起，虽然这些人总是很尊敬他，和他合作，但他从未加入他們有勢力的集团。富蘭克林有时妥协，有时退讓，但在思想意識里，从來沒有忘記生活里更偉大的目标。

总之，富蘭克林主張要在政治上統一國家，反对各州独立，反对那种光講自由而絲毫不受限制的团体和个人。早在他作邮政局長和商人的时候，就認識到这些在語言、宗教和經济組織上各自为政的各个小殖民地集团，决不能發展成为美利堅合众國。他在1754年拟定的联合計划，成为把殖民地各州推向國家統一的先声。他是一个忠实的英國人，同时以大英帝國的威力而感覺光荣。可是当他出使英國时，他必須向英國解釋，美國人也是人，而不是帝國殖民制度的奴隸。为了这个論点，他站得越来越堅定，反抗辱罵，甚至不惜冒生命的危險。他回國以后，准备訴諸于革命，而不向英國殖民制度低头。他衰老、生病和疲憊了，須要休息。但当人民召喚他的时候，他就担負起向法國傾訴美國災難的重担，取得了同盟，从而使他的國家獲得独立。

若不是他的另一个不朽的特点，他就不可能完成他的偉業，这就是他对于周圍世界的好奇心。他在探求眞理的过程中，不取得一定的成果决不中止。当他由于印刷、賣書和經商而有了一些財產以后，他就退休作起当时人們称为"自然科学"的实驗。他研究动物、植物、土地、風向和气候，同时詳細研究天空，直到他發現了天空中有和地上相同的电。他以很少的錢和貧乏的科学指導，从事独立的業余研究。由于勤劳和毅力，獲得了科学界的承認和称讚。当他放下实驗和理論而去欧洲的时候，人們不僅僅把他当作一个殖民地的政治家，还把他当作一个科学家。从这件事中，就可以看出他的力量和輝煌的成就。

在84年忙碌的生活中，他一直忠实于他的志趣。他幽默而且精力旺盛，他和女人恋愛顯示了十八世紀巴黎的快乐生活。他飲酒行乐，旅行和閱讀。他訪問朋友，和来宾交談，撰寫長篇信函和計划着为战爭和和平而奋斗。他的生活內容丰富，充滿錯誤和勝利，就在今天仍然値得你們的重視。

作为黑人后代的一个美國人——一千万黑奴是被偷运来的，他們辛勤地劳动，要把和夢想把美國的理想变成事实——現在当你們的國家里社会主义已經勝利的时候，我非常榮幸能夠和你們偉大的國家進行接触，你們正在急速前進，使得一个民族解除了种族偏見，献身于世界和平，决心擺脫成百万的劳动人民在劳动上所受到的剝削，这种剝削仍在欧洲、亞洲和非洲逞兇作乱，特别是它从1619年以来，一直奴役着我們的人民，到今天仍然沒有完全廢除。虽然最善良的美國人为了粉碎我們的最后的束縛，進行了有效的斗爭，可是我們仍然是美國的二等公民。像富蘭克林式的人們，开始承認和解放我們，在他的誕辰之际，那是合乎时宜的，通过美國的黑人，我，可以和今天已經取得最終勝利的偉大的中國人民，取得至少是精神上的联系。

謹以我的一千七百万黑人兄弟的名义向你們致敬！

中華人民共和國万歲！

威廉·杜波依斯

1956. 11. 19.

[China- Committee for Commemorating Great Figures...]

PRESS NEWS SERVICE **23 West 26 Street** **New York City 10**

4/1/6/77

The People's Republic of China is celebrating the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin in Peking, December 12, 1956.

Quo Mo Jo, representing the Committee for Commemorating Great Figures in World Culture, has invited Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois to take part in this celebration and to remain a month in China traveling and giving academic lectures. His expenses will be paid.

CLEVELAND Call and Post
Ohio's Fastest Growing Weekly
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2319 E. 55th STREET
PHONE EXPRESS 1-4141
P. O. BOX 6237
CLEVELAND 1, OHIO

December 10, 1956

42-5A38

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 W. 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Dubois:

Thanks for your memorandum relative to important anniversaries coming up. We agree with you that plans should be made to commemorate them. I am referring this matter to our feature department and to NNPA.

Respectfully,

William O. Walker

WOW/dm

41-16-47

March 1, 1956

Dr. P. Price Cobbs
2624½ S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles 11, Calif.

Dear Dr. Cobbs:

I am coming to California for a few lectures early in April. I am at Dr. Fritchman's church April 6; in San Diego April 4; and have other lectures on the 8th and 10th.

You can get details from the officers of the forum connected with Dr. Fritchman's church. Shirley will accompany me and she is going to write you. I shall probably go to San Francisco for the 13th and 15th.

Of course we hope to see you and your friends.

With best regards to you and your wife,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du BOIS

Ans

Elgin Street
Thornhill, Ont.
8 September 1956.

42-2A-118

Dear Dr. DuBois

Sorry to have taken so long to reply to your letter of appeal on behalf of the families of the Smith Act victims. Enclosed is a cheque for ten dollars, with the hope that your government will soon recover its sanity, and that what has been happening there may never happen here.

Sincerely

Helen E. Coleman

P.S. I trust that your wife has completely recovered.

H.E.C.

N

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE
104 BUTLER LIBRARY

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Ever since we last met at the American Academy, I have been thinking what a fine thing it would be if you could be persuaded to give us, in a series of tape-recorded interviews, something out of the rich storehouse of your experience for the benefit of posterity.

As you may know, the Oral History Office is a project of mine established for that very purpose: to secure the reminiscences of persons who have made important contributions to American life in our time. Our young men have interviewed Supreme Court Justices, Senators, former cabinet members, publishers, authors, and a host of others. The tapes are transcribed into manuscripts which are then deposited in Special Collections in this library, subject to whatever restrictions the donor wishes to impose. Some, for example, cannot be opened until after the death of the subject; others are restricted for fifty years, and of course some are open to any qualified scholar. The subject receives his own copy.

27-17A-75

The idea is to provide a vast reservoir of unique, uninhibited recollection from which the future historian may draw. I can think of no one who could make a more valuable contribution in a field which has engaged the hearts of all men of good will than yourself, and though you have written much, I know that the full story would be abundantly worth the telling. No one can write "the full story" of his life for publication, as we all know; but this method affords the opportunity to do it for those who survive you, and for all time.

Sincerely,

Allan Nevins
Allan Nevins

Ans
Mar 23

March 8 1956

[1956]

Committee to Defend Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak
515 West 111 Street • Suite 3F • New York 25, N. Y.

From 60 East 9th St.
New York, 3, N.Y.
January 2, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

77-91-27

We were delighted to receive your letter of December 28, and to learn that you will speak at the dinner Saturday, January 21, at the Hotel Great Northern. May I say we feel your fee of $25.00 is very generous.

I am enclosing a fact sheet, which carries the story of the Kwaks up to the time of the formation of the Committee. From then until September, 1955, the legal aspects of the case were in abeyance, Mr. and Mrs. Kwak having applied to the Federal District Court in Washington for a stay of Dpportation, and the court calender being crowded.

At that time, in September, a letter was received from the Immigration and Naturalization Service stating that another hearing of the Immigration Service on the validty of the claim of Mr. and Mrs. Kwak that they would face physical persecution would be held, if they withdrew their pending appeal. Mr. and Mrs. Kwak agreed to this, and a final hearing was held November 14th, and continued on November 22nd. On December 2, 1955, the recommendation of the hearing officer was given to Ira Gollobin, our lawyer,

> "It is recommended that deportation to South Korea be not withheld on the ground that the aliens failed to establish that they would be subject to physical persecution in that country."

This recommendation, from which I will quote further later, contains a number of incredibly bare-faced lies. The hearing itself was a travesty of due process of law. Under the Walter-McCarran Law, as you doubtless know, the hearing examiner is appointed by the Attorney-General, and serves as judge, prosecuter and jury. The original hearing, of which this was a review, was of course requested by Mr. and Mrs. Kwak in order to establish the fact that they would face violence and possible death in South Korea. Yet the heaving given them by our government was in effect a prosecution and a persecution. The ~~xxx~~ climate created by Mr. Jospph Mack, the hearing Examiner, was from the very beginning one of intimidation and terror.

Rather than seeking truth and justice, Mr. Mack insisted on unqualified 'yes' or 'no answers to most if not all questions. Mr. Mack attempted to insert into the record a strong doubt as to the value of the Kwaks' service to the United States Government during World War II - a value attested by their citations, which were later produced. Time after time, Mr. Mack attempted to insert into the record the inference that Mr. and Mrs. Kwak were liars; he asked Mr. Kwak, for example, whether it was not a fact that his rating with the Voice of America never went beyond 'good,' instead of being 'excellent' as he claimed. He attempted to infer that Mr. Kwak was either not sympathetic to the United States' W.W. II war effort or else a draft dodger, by insisting that Mr. Kwak should unqualifiedly answer 'yes' or 'no' to the question of whether or not he had said, on a form cited, that he did not wish to serve in the United States Armed Forces. As a matter of fact, Mr. Kwak had said he wished to serve in the war as a Korean, in order to receive recognition of the contribution of the Korean people in the war against militaristic Japan and the Fascist powers. Again and again questions were asked by Mr. Mack concerning the reading and possession by Mr. and Mrs. Kwak of various newspapers and other political publications - a clear invasion of the right of free speech and the press guaranteed in the First Amendment.

42-17-45

Mr. Mack, the Hearing Officer, in effect also objected to Mr. and Mrs. Kwak's consultation with their lawyer, directing, time after time, "Let the record show that applicant consulted with counsel before answering." His hostility to both Mr. and Mrs. Kwak and their lawyer was shown by the automatic and arbitrary manner in which he over-ruled every objection of counsel - to the point of laughter on the part of spectators in the hearing room - including such objections as that Mr. Mack was in effect conducting a cross-examination, which was not his function. Mr. Mack announced, after several objections, that he made the rulings in the hearing room - obviously regardless of legal precedent.

It should be pointed out that the pertinent question whether Mr. and Mrs. Kwak faced violence in South Korea, was supported by a mass of evidence showing the public character of their opposition to Syngman Rhee, and by a large number of affidavits from citizens of repute attesting to the fact, generally known in any case, that Syngman Rhee does so persecute his politcal opponents. These affidavits were supplied by Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League of the Rights of Man, by Emanuel J. Fried, who served in the United States Army as Division Headquarters Public Relations Officer in South Korea in 1946, as well as by a number of professors at American Universities, and other men of standing in this country.

Mr. and Mrs. Kwak also supported their claim of danger by handing over to the Hearing Officer photostats of articles which Mr. Kwak had signed, and which the two had written together for the Korean Independence, as well as a photostat of a portion of the Congressional Record, quoting from a letter which had been read into that record, alleging that Mr. Kwak was a member of a Communist spy ring, operating in the United States. Yet in handing down his ruling, Mr. Mack stated:

> "It is .... apparent from their testimony that they are boastfully impressed with their own claimed importance when in fact the record shows them to be insignificant persons concerning whom there is not a scintilla of evidence to show that they ever came to the attention of Syngman Rhee.... The

> applicants have failed by credible testimony to establish that they would suffer physical persecution if deported to South Korea... It is recommended that deportation to South Korea be not withheld on the ground that the aliens failed to establish that they would be subject to physical persecution in that country."

Mr. Gollobin, the lawyer for the Kwaks, immediately made application for a review of the case by the Regional Board in Connecticut; an actual review, rather than, I gather, simple reconsideration, is unprecedented. However, currently, that review has been granted, and will be held January 9th. Mr. Gollobin tells us this will establish a precedent and a new right for aliens.

47-17-96

This is the story of the case as it stands at this moment. As our appeal letter, which I sent you, stated, we feel that the lives of the Kwaks can be saved if sufficient funds are raised; that is the reason why many of us on the Committee have put all our efforts into this dinner. We are sure that it's success will be much greater because we will be able to announce you as the principal speaker.

I shall be glad to discuss any other aspect of the case with you or to answer any questions you may have when I see you.

With greetings of the season to you and to Shirley,

Very sincerely yours,

Louise Mally

Louise Mally

ORegon 4-7207

Enc.

[Committee to Defend the Kwaks]

[ENC]

FACT SHEET

42/1A/9

Who are the Kwaks?

Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak are a young Korean couple who have lived in the United States since leaving Korea in 1935. Today they are fighting for their very lives against an order of deportation which will ship them to South Korea, to their avowed, open enemy. The measures used by the Rhee regime are well known to include killings, tortures and assassinations. Even Chough Pyoung Ok, one time Rhee's police director and his representative to the US, suffered physical tortures at the hands of Rhee's thugs because Chough failed to join in blocking the truce in the Korean war. The U.S. Government's order of deportation of the Kwaks to Syngman Rhee is tantamount to a death sentence.

Before Leaving Korea

Choon Cha was born and reared in Seoul where she graduated from Korea's leading woman's school, Ewha College, majoring in music, which she taught at her alma mater after graduation. In 1938 she was the recipient of a Barber Scholarship to the University of Michigan, established for the education of Asian women in the United States. She graduated from Ann Arbor with a B.M. (music) in 1941.

Chungsoon, who was born in Pyongyang, displayed remarkably precocious talents also in the field of music. At high school age he became the concertmeister of the Seoul Central Symphony Orchestra and later occupied this chair with the Chosun Christian College Symphony. As a young violinist he made a number of recordings which were sold throughout Korea. In 1934 he graduated from Chosun Christian College.

51
1935
16

During this period he and Choon Cha appeared as featured soloists in all of the principle towns and cities in Korea. Both performed quite regularly over the Korean network.

As students, both Chungsoon and Choon Cha participated in many student strikes and demonstrations against the hated Japanese rule. Chungsoon left for the United States in 1935 to further his musical education.

Study in the United States

In 1940 Chungsoon graduated from the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago. In 1942 they were married at Ann Arbor. Later, he studied political science at Columbia University from which he graduated in 1949. ~~While a student~~ in ~~Chicago~~, Chungsoon became the secretary of the Korean National Association, an organization of Koreans living in Hawaii and the U.S., whose principle aim was the elimination of Japanese rule over their homeland. He was also the general secretary of the Korean Student Federation of North America and was ~~very~~ active in church work among the Korean community. When they moved to New York City in ~~September~~, 1942, Chungsoon became the president of the Eastern Division of the Korean Student Federation. While Choon Cha became the choirmaster of the local Korean church, Chungsoon also served as the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the church.

1

Service in the United States Government

2

Both of the Kwaks have had long and meritorious service in the U. S. Government, especially during World War II. In Chicago they served as examiners in the vital Office of Censorship and came to New York when that Office was moved in 1942.

In August, 1943, Chungsoon headed up the Korean Unit of the Information and Education Division of the US Armed Service Forces; his assistant was Choon Cha. Together they directed compilation, editing and publishing of all Korea language materials including the creation of phonetic language aids, language records, dictionaries, maps, etc., urgently needed by the US Armed Forces.

3

42/1A/10

Following the Second World War, the Kwaks saw further service in the State Department's Voice of America. One day in June, 1949, without warning, Chungsoon was dismissed. The State Department found nothing amiss in his work; on the contrary, it was rated as "excellent." With her husband's dismissal, Choon Cha resigned from her post too.

Then why was Chungsoon discharged? He was a vocal opponent of Syngman Rhee. Many open declarations of their views were made since the days of World War II. Not only did they refuse to join Rhee's political games in Washington which flourished during the war days, but they openly advocated dissolution of Rhee's clique in the United States. This won them the hatred of Syngman Rhee who is implacable toward any and all opposition.

At the end of World War II there came about a division in Korea. The Kwaks were against the 38th parallel and believed in the peaceful reunification of Korea. With the outbreak of a civil war in Korea they advocated non-intervention. They wholeheartedly supported the truce in the war, believing in a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Many of such expressions were published in the Korean-English weekly, the Korean Independence, to which Chungsoon has been its special correspondent to the United Nations since 1952.

The Deportation Order

Until 1942 the Kwaks were in the United States on student visas. In 1942, at the insistence of the U.S. Government, they were transferred to visitor's status. (Under the immigration law a foreign student cannot be employed while in the United States. The Government wanted them to work for it!) Their routine applications for extensions were always granted.

Their last such extension was to expire on August 1, 1948. But in the previous year the U.S. Congress passed a law (Public Law 863 - 62 Stat 1206), which enabled aliens of seven consecutive years of residence to apply for permanent residence. Under this law - PRIOR to August 1, 1948, the expiration date of their last extension - the Kwaks made applications for permanent residence.

While the Kwaks were waiting to hear from the Immigration Service on their applications, in September, 1949, after Chungsoon's dismissal from the State Department, the Immigration Office converted the applications into a deportation proceeding.

It was not until September of 1950 - just three months after the Korean war began - that the order for the Kwak's deportation was issued. At the hearing in September, 1949, the hearing officer expressly found that the Kwaks were of excellent moral character and had rendered loyal service to the United States Government during World War II. He based his ruling for deportation to South Korea on the claim that they had overstayed their visitor's permit.

In April of 1951 the Kwaks' appeal to overturn the order for deportation was denied. The rejection, they were told, was based on confidential information.

They had sought permission for voluntary departure from the United States. One morning in September 1951, the Kwaks were arrested at their home by U.S. Immigration officials and imprisoned on Ellis Island for two weeks. Released on bail, they have been obliged to report to Ellis Island twice a month.

42/1A/11

In October of 1951 their attorney requested that the order for deportation to South Korea be stayed pending a petition to the U.S. Attorney General under the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 precluding deportation if physical persecution would be the demonstrable consequence of such deportation. On this petition they were given a hearing in April, 1953. At that time they proved with numerous documents their opposition to Rhee and the inevitable physical persecution which faced them in South Korea, as a result of their opposition.

The U. S. Attorney General is granted the power under the McCarran-Walter Law to suspend the order if he finds that the Kwaks would suffer physical persecution if deported to South Korea. The Kwaks did not want any part of Rhee. They categorically rejected the dubious "order" by the Rhee clique to register as "nationals" of Rhee's regime. All these evidences were presented at the hearing. But the Attorney General refuses to find that they would be subjected to physical persecution at the hands of Syngman Rhee and his regime. They were ordered to surrender to South Korea on April 7, 1954.

The Kwaks Can Be Saved

Against this order went protests to the United States Attorney General from many people throughout the United States. The prompt court action brought about by the New York Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born succeeded in obtaining a temporary restraining order preventing the Department of Justice from carrying out it's intended deportation of the Kwaks to Syngman Rhee.

However, in June the Department of Justice made a move to vacate the temporary restraining order. Arguments were heard on this latest move of the Government.

A final ruling in the Kwak's case is now pending. It has been delayed pending a ruling by the Federal Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C. in a case in which the issues involved are similar to those in this case.

In the meantime a Committee to Defend the Kwaks has been formed to help fight their case.

* * * * * * *

For further information please write to:

Committee to Defend the Kwaks
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

"UNITY IN DIVERSITY" "TOGETHER WE ADVANCE"

Community Unitarian Fellowship
OF SAN DIEGO COUNTY
4561 North Avenue, San Diego 16, California

Feb. 23- 1956

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Thirty-one Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York:-

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Elmer Mahoney, of Affiliated Forums , has suggested that we communicate with you direct regarding the fixing of a final date for your meeting with the Fellowship Forum in San Diego. We would prefer April 13th if you are going to be in the area that long. This is a Friday evening and better from the stand point of "getting desirable hall and also from attendance angle. The next choice- April 10th- and last, April 4th. The reason we put the 4th last is that most churches have their own programs that evening and we would like to involve as many of them as possible in this meeting with you.

One Negro church is already committed to cooperation in this and we will start a community wide survey in preparation for wide publicity as soon as we have a definite date.

We are indeed looking forward to- at last- having you come to San Diego. Please reply as sppedily as convenient.

Very sincerely,
Alice B. Hoskins
(Mrs.) Alice B. Hoskins
Chr. Forum Committee.

41-104-2

41-104-18

February 25, 1956

Mrs. Alice B. Hoskins
Community Unitarian Fellowship
4561 North Avenue
San Diego 16, California

My dear Mrs. Hoskins:

After hearing from Mr. Mahoney that April 4th was an acceptable date for San Diego, Dr. Du Bois has so arranged his schedule. He cannot now make it later as he is going on from Los Angeles to San Francisco and the schedule of dates there will not permit. -- I am writing immediately on receiving your letter in the hope that you will be spared any inconvenience.

Since this is a vacation week we were advised to make plan reservations at once. We have done so and will fly direct from here April 3rd arriving in Los Angeles about five-thirty. This is such a beautiful time of year and we have so many friends in California so I shall accompany him and look forward to my first visit in San Diego. At this moment I do not know where we'll be staying in Los Angeles. Mr. Mahoney will arrange that for us. As to getting to San Diego: an automobile trip (I should imagine about three hours) could be delightful since Dr. Du Bois has the whole of April 4th for a day trip. This would mean, however, that he would have to have some place for a little rest before the meeting. Perhaps, it would be more practical to take a plane down, with the question of whether or not he should spend the night. May we leave all this to you to plan for everybody's best convenience? You know the immediate situation as to time and distances and we do not.

When Dr. Du Bois goes to his office Monday he will mail Mr. Mahoney a number of glossy prints so that you may get one from him if so desired. Also may I refer you to the latest edition of Who's Who for biographical material.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

(Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois)

[Conference - - -]

Am

41-76-45

CONFERENCE FOR LEGISLATION IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST
Suite 1500 - 342 Madison Ave. New York 17, N.Y.

March 8, 1956

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We want you to know that we are inviting the Sponsors of the Conference for Legislation in the National Interest to a meeting on Tuesday evening, March 13th. at the home of Henry Abrams 884 West End Ave. Apt. 63 at 8:30 P.M.

The response from Sponsors has been gratifying and we anticipate a fruitful evening on the 13th. in considering the plans and content of the Conference.

The date for the Conference itself has been advanced to April 7th. in order to allow more time for preparation.

Of course we are very eager to have your thoughts on the program and plans for the Conference, but if you cannot come to the meeting next Tuesday evening we will certainly keep you informed and come to you for suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Angus Cameron

Angus Cameron

CONFERENCE FOR LEGISLATION IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST

SUITE 1500 — 342 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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SECRETARY
Albert L. Colloms

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Rose V. Russell
Dr. Paul Selden
Simon Federman
Dr. Frank F. Slater
Anthony Toney
Rev. Wayne White
Henry Willcox
Dr. Hyman Willinger
Benjamin M. Zelman

April 19, 1956

Dear Friend:

As you know, the Conference for Legislation in the National Interest held on April 7 at Manhattan Center, elected a Continuation Committee consisting of the sponsors and additional members nominated from the floor to carry out its decisions. These were :

41/16/21

1- To organize activities on behalf of the specific legislative proposals endorsed by the Conference;

2- The issuance of a call for the formation of Committees of Correspondence in every Congressional district of the country. There is every indication that such a call would meet with a ready response.

To that end, the first meeting of the Continuation Committee will be held on Wednesday, April 25 at 8.30 P.M. at Manhattan Towers Hotel, Broadway at 76th St. N.Y.City.

Your participation will help guarantee a full and democratic discussion.

Sincerely,
Angus Cameron
Angus Cameron
Chairman

Albert L Colloms
Albert L. Colloms
Secretary

CONFERENCE FOR LEGISLATION IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST
Suite 1500 - 342 Madison Ave. N.Y.17, N.Y.

Chairman:
Angus Cameron

Secretary:
Albert L. Colloms

May 10, 1956

Dear Friend:

The second meeting of the Continuation Committee will take place on:

Monday, May 21, 8.30 P.M.

at Manhattan Towers Hotel, Broadway at 76th St.

(Downstairs Lounge)

The order of business will be:

1- Election of officers and standing committees.
2- Adoption of By-laws.
3- Report of sub-committee on organization.

There has been increasing interest in the formation of Congressional District Chapters of our organization. We urge you to be present to help in our deliberations.

Sincerely,

A L Colloms

Albert L. Colloms
Secretary

41|16|91

CONGRÈS DES ÉCRIVAINS
ET ARTISTES NOIRS
Présence Africaine

[Congress of Black Writers & Artists]

PARIS, le 15 JUIN 1956

Monsieur DUBOIS
W.E.Burghardt

31 Grace Court
BROOKLYN 2.N.Y.

41-16-44

Monsieur,

Nous vous avons adressé récemment une lettre circulaire accompagnée du programme provisoire du prochain Congrés des Ecrivains et Artistes Noirs.

Nous vous y faisions part de votre désignation par les Comités de Paris et de Londres comme rapporteur chargé de traiter un des sujets du programme.

Auriez-vous la bonté de nous indiquer d'urgence si le thème qui vous est proposé vous convient ? Voudriez-vous également nous dire si nous pouvons compter fermement sur vous pour recevoir votre texte avant le I5 Août 1956

Quelle que soit votre décision en cette matière, nous vous saurions gré de nous éclairer promptement, dans l'intérêt même du Congrés.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, avec nos remerciements, l'assurance de notre considération distinguée.

Pour le Comité de Paris

17, Rue de Chaligny, Paris (XIIe) DOR. 38.39 — C. C. P. Paris IX.187-81

CONGRÈS DES ÉCRIVAINS
ET ARTISTES NOIRS
Présence Africaine

Congress of Negro
Writers Artists

PARIS, le ~~Ier AOUT 1956~~

41-16-178

Mr W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
3I, GRACE COURT, 3I
- BROOKLYN -
-;-:-:-:-

Dear Sir ,

A great variety of engagements tends to throw into oblivion many an uncustomary but all-impotant part of one's programme for a given period.

We are therefore reminding you most respectfully that " PRESENCE AFRICAINE " firmly counts your sending us before the I6th August 1956 your written contribution to the Congress Negro Writers and Artists . This contribution is a text dealing with CULTURAL EXPERIENCES OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. Its length should be from 4.000 to I2.000 typewritten words approximately (400 words to the page) .

The proposed subject may inadequately indicate the theme you migght prefer. It is left to you to rectify and advise us of the theme that suits you most and that you have finally chosen.

We feel that this reminder may serve at least as a pgge of your note-book.

Thank you in advance.

Yours soncerly.

Mme A. Diop

FOR THE CENTRAL PARIS COMMITTEE.

[Congress of Black Writers and Artists]

August 9, 1956

Mme. A. Diop,

Congres des Ecrivains et Artistes Noirs

17, Rue de Chaligny, Paris XII, DOR 38.39

Paris, France

My dear Madame:

42-3-19

I regret to say that it will be impossible for me to furnish your Congress the article which you mention in your letter of August 1. The work involved would be too much for me to undertake without compensation, and I know on how small a budget your Congress must be organised and carried out.

I regret my inability to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

CONGRÈS DES ÉCRIVAINS
ET ARTISTES NOIRS
Présence Africaine

41-16-175

PARIS, le 16 AOUT 1956

[Congress of Black
Writers & Artists]

MoNSIEUR W.E.B. DUBOIS
23, WEST 26th STREET
- N E W-Y O R K -
-:-:-:-:-:-:-

Monsieur,

Nous regrettons toujours que vous n'ayez pas présidé l'ouverture du Congrès. Cela vous revenait de dr-oit . Mais du moins voudrions nous publier votre rapport sur l'exprérience culturel des Noirs d'Amérique Nous sommes prets à vous rétribuer ce travail selon les tarifs que vous meme indiquerez.

Nous pensons qu'un tel sujet vous est familer et que vous pourrez nous adresser votre texte bien avant le Congrès (fin Aout par exemple).

En vous renouvelant notre regret de ne pas faire votre connaissance, nous vous prions d'agréer Monsieur l'expression de notre considération distinguée

P. A. DIOP

Mme A. Diop

17, Rue de Chaligny, Paris (XIIe) DOR. 38.39 — C. C. P. Paris 17.187-81

CONGRÈS DES ÉCRIVAINS
ET ARTISTES NOIRS
Présence Africaine

41-16-177

PARIS, le ____________

[Congress of Black
Writers & Artists]

Monsieur,

Les comités de Paris et de Londres vous ont désigné pour traiter un des sujets du programme ci-joint et pour prendre part au Congrès.

Les textés doivent être imprimés sépérément et envoyés aux Congressistes avant le Congrès. Dès l'ouverture du Congrès, des commissions spécialisées se formeront pour rédiger et proposer à la discussion générale leurs conclusions. Aussi serions-nous heureux de recevoir votre rapport sitôt qu'il sera prêt. Plus tôt il sere diffusé, plus tôt il sera lu et plus tôt chaque congressiste sera prêt à aborder la discussion générale.

En vous remerciant de votre précieuse collaboration, nous vous rappelons que le sujet proposé pourrait ne pas correspondre exactement aux préoccupations actuelles qui inspirent vos travaux. Dans ce cas, le programme est assez large et suggestif pour que vous choisisiez ou imaginiez vous-même un autre sujet, pourvu que vous nous en avisiez assez tôt et que nous puissions éviter qu'il soit deux fois traité.

D'autre part, la lettre aux intellectuels ci-joint vous indique que nous accueillerons avec joie tout autre étude de tout africain qui corresponde au sens du Congrès et à l'esprit de notre action culturelle, lesquels sont assez larges : affirmer et sauver l'originale et libre conscience culturelle de nos peuples et de nos artistes.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de nos sentiments distingués.

PRESENCE AFRICAINE

[Cottingham]

581 - 10 th Ave.
New York - 36 - N.Y.

March 15, 1956

41-16-115

Mr. Wm E. B. DuBois
31 Grace, Ct.
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I read with disfavor the World Telegram report of the Levittown ALP ban. Such stupidity seems impossible to believe; yet it is here in America.

Since your address was given in the paper I take this opportunity to tell you of a 38 page handwritten copy of The Black Christ by Countée Cullen which I own and am offering for sale. I would like to find a generous buyer who would turn the MS over to Mrs Homer of The Countée Cullen Memorial Library - 138 th St. N.Y.C. for permanent possession. I know she would be very happy to have this holograph copy. I need funds.

I believe this is the only such copy in existance and that Carl Van Vechten's material plus original went to the Yale library some years ago.

My asking price was 7500, but I realize that I must come down considerably even though I believe this poem in the authors' own hand [38 pages] will someday be of tremendous value

41-16-116

in combating race predjudice. (I certainly think that it is a crime that it remains practically unknown at a time when every weapon to combat ignorrance is needed.)

Two other parties are currently interested in buying this 38 page copy of The Black Christ, but I am reasonably sure that Mrs. Homer and The Countée Cullen Memorial Library will not see this item (which she so much wants and the N.Y. City Library System wants) in their display case, if either one of these parties gets it. Send me your best bid for clear title, and I'll let you know decision. Also - would you be willing to give copy to Harlem library; wish to hold; wish to hold for resale.

Kindest regards,
Clive Cottingham, Jr.
581-10th Ave.
N.Y. 36. N.Y.

3221 Piedmont Ave.,
Pittsburgh 16, Pa.
July 15, 1956.

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois (& Wife).
31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

42-2A-143

Dear Mr.DuBois:

It is a great honor to receive even a reproduced copy of a letter (6-20-56 re Smith Act) from one who writes so tersely and yet so clearly on matters of great importance. (Nat. Guardian etal).

There are so many things wrong in the WORLD. It is hard to concentrate my small finances on any one or a few. Paul de Kruif in his book, "Why Keep then Alive?" has decided for me. Why try to get people out of jail or relieve their families if they and we are all to be atomized next year, or the year after that,-----?

So I am cooperating with the Quakers - with some show of success - trying to "head off" ATOMIC WAR. I helped "needle" Russell Johnson - AFSC, Cambridge, Mass. - into preparing the enclosed copy of Proposal for Senate SubCommittee on Disarmament.

And since neither our President nor Congress are equipped with "self-starters" on anything CON-structive, I am trying to get R. Johnson to prepare another brief Outline to give his Proposal LIFE. (Copy of my let. of 7-15 enclosed; I hope this may stimulate your own thinking - and that of Shirley Graham - toward something CON-structive along this line.

Sincerely,

A. Bruce Cox

A. Bruce Cox. (Mech, & Elec. Eng'r.)

[Cox]

42/2A/63

2221 Piedmont Ave.,
Pittsburgh 16, Pa.
July 15, 1956.

AFSC; Boston, R.Johnson:

Some of us are gifted along certain lines and others along entirely different lines. It is questionable whether ANY of us deserve ANY credit whatever for using as best we can whatever gifts we have. We are still "unprofitable servants". So what might otherwise seem like my insincere flattery of your own abilities you will recognise as actually useful sincerity. So, we go on from here.

The Boulding Statement of June 8 sent with your let. of 7-11 is surely not more than 10% as good as your Senate Proposal of Apr.9. It is OK, but is too long - "wanders"- where it should be terse and direct. And, anyone who advocates "made work" (p/5) to keep our economic machinery "busy", simply hasn't grasped even the elementary necessities of economic planning. Here is a list of some ideas which may stimulate your own thinking.

1. Like it or not, world competition is FORCING us toward planning. We don't dare permit another serious DEPRESSION such as WILL come unless we take ACTIVE steps to prevent it. Better do this NOW than later AFTER we are in the middle of the mess.
2. Our economic machine is too big for "made work" (pump-priming) to be more than just a "drop in the bucket". We are going to HAVE TO plan our daily, useful, commercial production - food, clothing, housing, furniture. The "hysteria" of some shows they think "planning" is subversive!!! On the contrary, you KNOW that the better ANY project is planned, the better its chances for success. Please don't let anybody mislead you.
3. To be most successful, economic planning should be done by those most directly responsible for producing, distributing, and consuming - not by those who have only an indirect, "theoretical" interest. At present, such planning is prohibited by anti-trust laws -and properly so - to prevent abuse of power for purposes not in the PUBLIC interest.
4. Under our present economic "set-up" we NEED billions of Dollars worth of WAR-preparation to keep our economic machinery "busy", and we "need" a huge standing army to keep millions of our young men from competing in, and depressing the "labor market". This is THE "log jam" that HAS TO BE BROKEN UP before our economy can flow freely to bring the greatest good to the greatest number - without "busts" in a "boom & bust" cycle - USEFUL goods for CON-structive - not DE-structive purposes.
5. We should be terrifically ashamed before the whole WORLD not to be willing to spend at least 1/10 of 1-% of the amount we are now spending for WAR preparation to preparation for PEACE.
6. There is no alternative WORSE than Atomic WAR!!!

I want to use my finances as effectively as possible for PEACE -,preferably to support only the most vital "log jam" blasting - such as this. I will depend on you to tell me (plainly and matter-of-factly) just when and where my support is needed.

Sincerely,

A. Bruce Cox.

A. Bruce Cox.

MR. DuBois:- ANY SUGGESTIONS?

HAPPY
BIRTHDAY

[CRAWFORD]

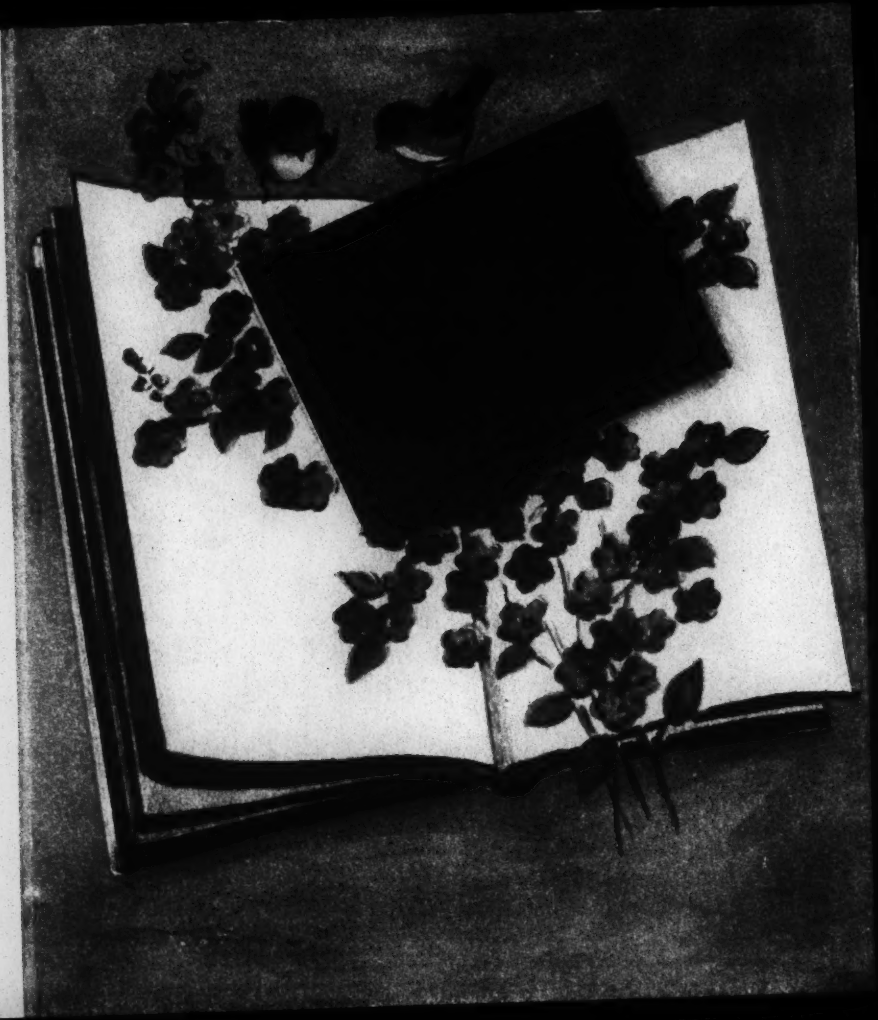
A special "hello"
on your birthday
And with it a wish
that's sincere
For a day that is just
to your liking
And the very same
kind of a year!

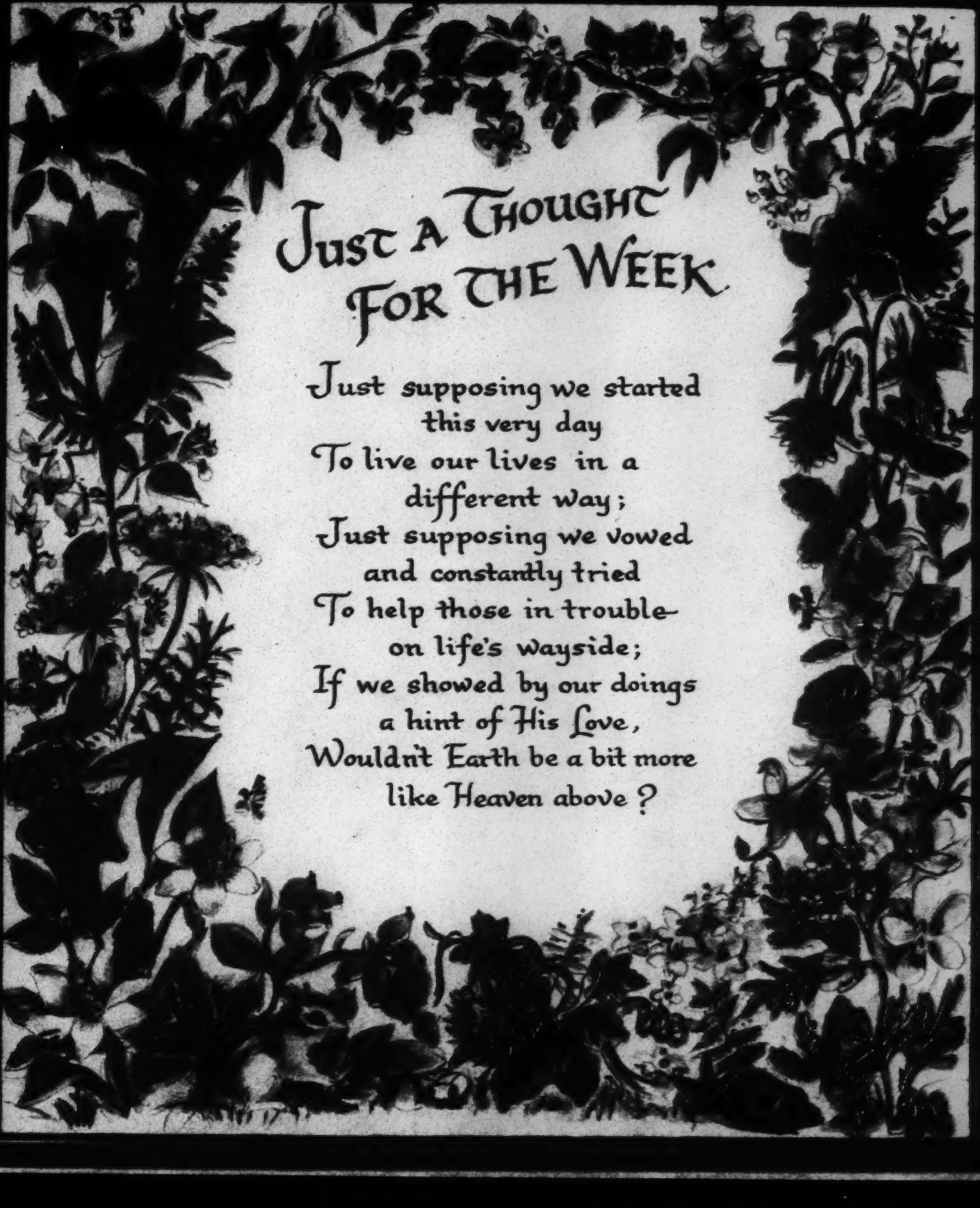
Alice + Fredy

41/19 A-C/15

BUZZA-CARDOZO
"Heart to Heart"
CARDS
HOLLYWOOD, U.S.A.
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

10 B 1726 A





JUST A THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK

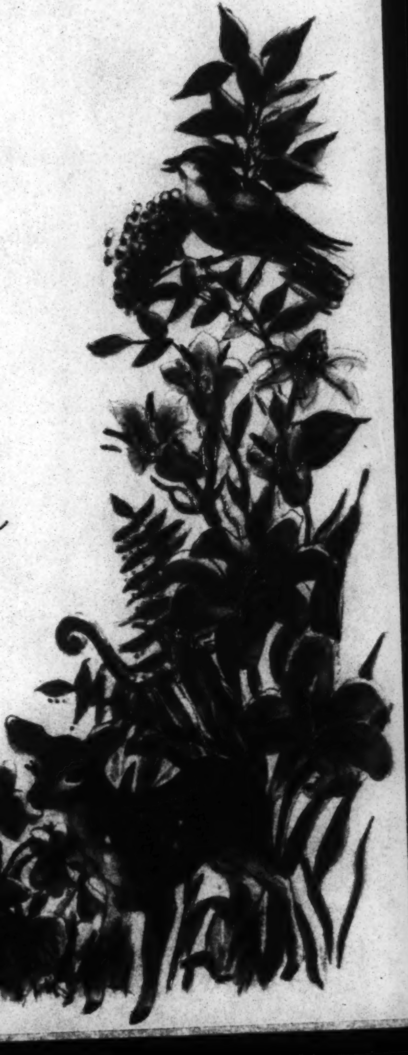
Just supposing we started
this very day
To live our lives in a
different way;
Just supposing we vowed
and constantly tried
To help those in trouble
on life's wayside;
If we showed by our doings
a hint of His Love,
Wouldn't Earth be a bit more
like Heaven above?

COPYRIGHT MCMLIV BUZZA - CARDOZO

Just a thought to
carry you through th
week with my praye
that it may hold jo
and happiness for y

Alice + Fred

ht to
gh the
rayer
ld joy
for you



On Monday

Look for a smile today and return it
with one of your own —
Give someone new faith and hope...
it's such a beautiful loan!

On Tuesday

Gather a thought that's kind — one
that's sincere and deep ....
But be sure to pass it along, for such
are too precious to keep!

On Wednesday

Forget yesterday's old sorrows, mistakes,
sadness and pain —
Lift your heart with hope and a song
as flowers to sun and rain!

On Thursday

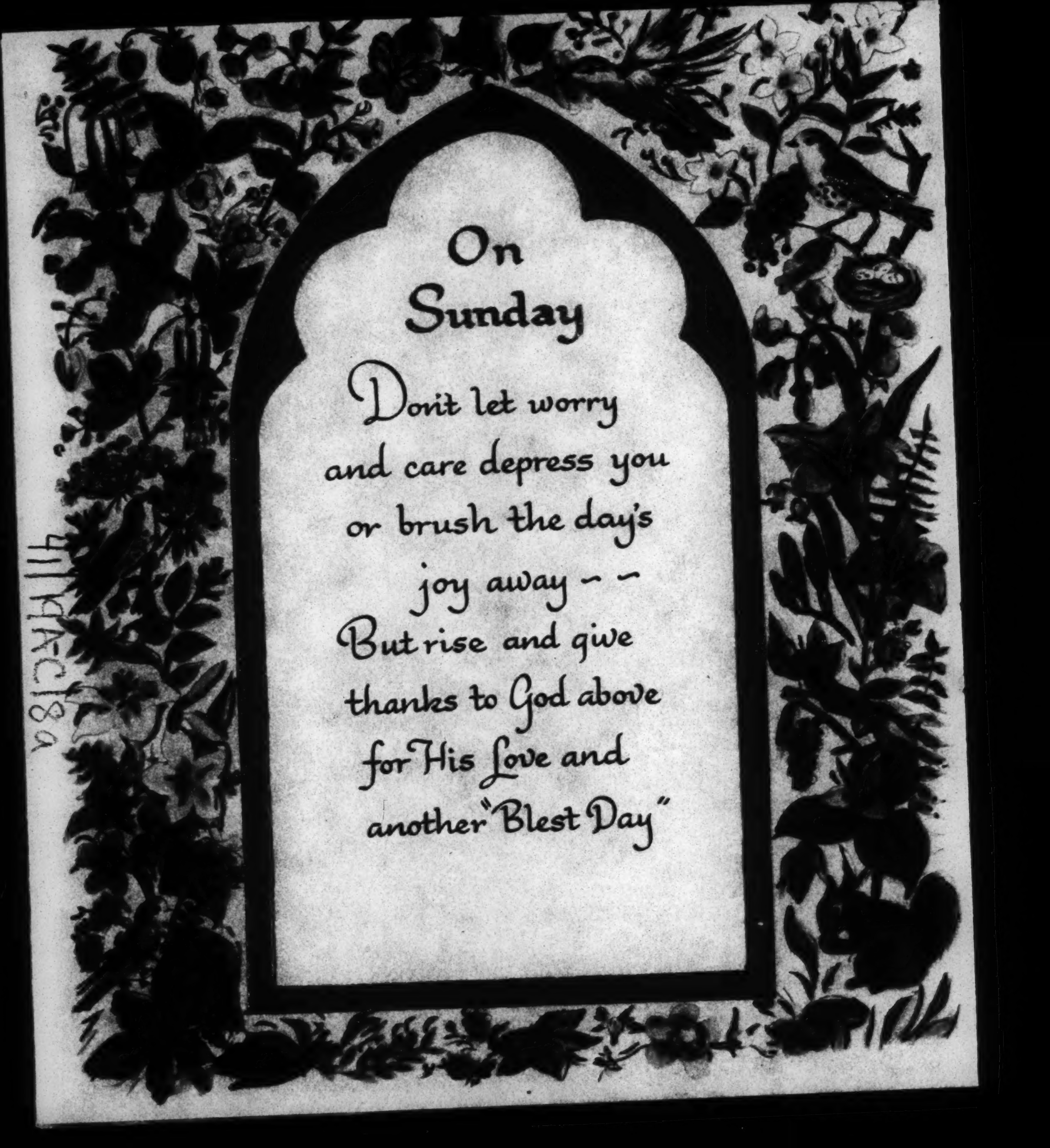
Offer a word of comfort and prayer to
help someone in need —
A little thoughtful gift, some flowers or
a smile make us all rich indeed!

On Friday

You shall not pass this way again —
so do any good you can do...
Don't put it off till tomorrow or the
chance may be lost for you!

On Saturday

Today will soon be a memory so don't
let it come to an end
Without a smile, without a song or just
a word with a friend!



On Sunday

Don't let worry
and care depress you
or brush the day's
joy away - -
But rise and give
thanks to God above
for His Love and
another "Blest Day"

411MA-C18a

Remembering Your Birthday--
And You!

Ch
P

Couldn't forget YOU ---
just couldn't,
On such a nice day of the year,
When it's ALWAYS so pleasant
to send you
A wish that is warm and sincere!

HAPPY BIRTHDAY!
HAPPY EVERYDAYS!

Form Lynwood S. Cundiff,
Chairman of the Northeast Club
Progessive Party, Wash. D.C.

41|19D-F|47

4033
MADE IN U.S.A.

Best Wishes

[1956]

Davis

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
1 W 126 St
NYC 27

May 14

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation a couple of days ago, I intend to call you one day this week, perhaps Friday, May 18.

Among various things we might discuss, I want to raise the central matters on my mind so that you might consider them before we get together.

First, what do you think of our Party's theoretical position of the Negro question in the South - involving the question of self-determination for the Black Belt - in the light of the direction of the Negro peoples movement in the South Today, particularly in Montgomery?

Secondly, what do you see as a realizable perspective for the solution of the Negro question in the South today, in terms of guarantees

27-17A-77

[illegible]

of the Negro's full political, economic and social equality?

Thirdly, what do you consider the key issue - that is, popular issue - for advancing the whole struggle for democracy and Negro advancement in the South today?

Fourthly, How do you view the struggle for Negro's rights in the North - that is, principally in the large urban Negro centers like Harlem, Chicago's South Side, etc.?

Our Party, as you doubtless know, is undergoing a thorough review and re-examination on all questions. But, of course, my conversations with you are entirely personal and unofficial.

I don't need to summon you on to complete frankness in discussing the questions with me, because frankness is one of your prime virtues.

The fact is that my own participation in our Party's review will not be adequate until I have gotten the opinions of many who, from their own points of view, have given the Negro question long and wise consideration.

I hope to see you Friday afternoon at your office. Warm regards to Shirley.

Sincerely, Benjamin J Davis

[Diggs Enterprises]

Jan. 2, 1956

Mr. Charles C. Diggs, Sr.
c/o The Diggs Enterprises
671 Mack Avenue
Detroit 1, Mich.

PERSONAL

My dear Mr. Diggs:

42-3-9

Just before the holidays, as you know, your representative Mr. Walter Mason called on me and we had a pleasant interview. I have already sent him some suggestions and today I am sending him the full text of the play which we discussed.

Also, I am enclosing for you a rough outline of some 250 highlights of American Negro history, together with a suggestion of "Ten Great Episodes in the History of American Negroes." You will understand that this is only a rough estimate to indicate the kind of biographical chronology which I have in mind. I am hurrying it to you so that you will be able to come to some conclusion. If this is to be undertaken, and carefully and accurately done, I shall need a good deal of time.

Will you kindly glanse this over, threfore, and let me hear from you at your conveniense. I trust that I shall hear from you as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

DIGGS ENTERPRISES
INCORPORATED
671 MACK AVENUE
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN
TEMPLE 3-4100
3-4101
3-4102

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41-16-148

Brown

October 18, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Thirty-One Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Charles C. Diggs, Sr., and Diggs Enterprises, Incorporated wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your participation in the Panorama of Progress of 1956. The contribution which you have made to Negro progress in America and the contribution which you made to our program are immeasurable and we sincerely appreciate your good works.

Mr. Diggs is planning to promote the Panorama of Progress again next year, 1957 in the new Ford Auditorium here in the City of Detroit. The theme of the 1957 production will be the same as it was this year; i.e. the progress of the American Negro and his contribution to the progress of the world during recent years.

Mr. Diggs has requested that I ask you whether or not you will be able to help us in preparing the story or the script for this production. It is our feeling that you, better than any living Negro know of our Negro progress and our rich heritage. We intend portraying Negro progress through the medium similar to that you observed hefe at the State Fairgrounds and we feel that if you were to assist in preparing this production it would make it the type of salute to our people that all could be proud of.

If you believe that you will be able to assist us in making the 1957 Panorama of Progress a significant contribution to America I will appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience so I may furnish you with what ever information you desire.

Very truly yours,

Basil W. Brown

Basil W. Brown
Executive Vice-President

BWB:dv

[Diggs - Ent.]

41-16-66

October 22, 1956

Mr. Basil W. Brown
Executive Vice-President
Diggs Enterprises
671 Mack Avenue
Detroit 1, Mich.

My dear Mr. Brown:

While I appreciated the chance to take some small part in your panorama of progress last year, I was very much disappointed at the way in which the general story and historical script had been prepared. The persons who contributed to this work were undoubtedly earnest and tried hard, but only a trained historian and one used to research in the social sciences could have done a good job in this matter.

If you wish, I would be very glad to outline a script on the progress of the American Negro and his contribution to the progress of the world. I would, of course, have to charge you for my services, and for clerical help in my office. If you would like, I can furnish you with a general statement of the scope and cost of this work.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

Diggs

41-16-65

November 5, 1956

Dear Mr. Diggs:

I received a letter recently from your assistant Mr. Brown, which I answered. This letter to you is a further clarification of my first letter, and I am sending a copy to Mr. Brown.

I am deeply interested in the historical commemoration of American Negro history and in pageantry to illustrate it. In 1900, I took a series of charts on Negro history to the Paris Exposition to exhibit. They received a Gold Medal. In 1913 I promoted under the auspices of the State of New York, an exhibition and pageant, "The Star of Ethiopia," to commemorate the jubilee of Emancipation. This was done in New York City, and largely attended. The Pageant was taken to Washington, D. C., in 1914, playing to large audiences, and in 1916, in Philadelphia, it was used to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the A.M.E. Church. Some years later it was repeated in the Hollywood Bowl.

The year 1957 begins a series of anniversaries covering the history of the Negro race in America. The enclosed circular is bringing this to the attention of the N.A.A.C.P. and the newspapers. Please read it. I have finished a play "The Black Man and the Moon." It has never been produced. I believe it would be just the vehicle to stage your 1957 Panorama of Progress.

It should be accompanied by a series of charts, for wall display or in pamphlet form, to illustrate this history, physically, politically, culturally; in literature, music, painting and sculpture. This has been attempted many times before, but it should be done now better and definitively.

If either or both these projects interest you, I would like to confer with you and go into specific details. I would want anything attempted to be scientifically correct and artistically above criticism.

May I hear from you at your convenience?

Yours sincerely,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

DIGGS ENTERPRISES
INCORPORATED
671 MACK AVENUE
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN
TEMPLE 3-4100
3-4101
3-4102

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41-16-63

November 6, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In answer to your letter to Mr. Brown, we are favorable to your offer to help with our script for our 1957 Panorama of Progress. It will be held in the New Henry Ford Auditorium July, 1957.

In order that you may know in essence what plans we have for the play, we will send one of our experienced Actors and Producer, Walter Mason to confer with you in the very near future. Mr. Mason is in possession of some scripts dealing on the subject and is acquainted with the whole idea. He is connected with Wayne University in Detroit and has successfully planned a lot of their plays. He will confer with you on the play and its cost and report to us on his return.

Please advise us of the best time to send him for a conference.

Sincerely yours,

Charles C. Diggs Sr.

Charles C. Diggs, Sr.
President

CCD:dv

[Diggs Enterprises]

DIGGS ENTERPRISES
INCORPORATED
671 MACK AVENUE
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

TEMPLE 3-4100
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CHARLES C. DIGGS, SR.
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E. EARTHMON FORT CHRM., ADVISORY BOARD

November 10, 1956

42-2A-207

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In answer to your letter of November concerning the 1957 Panorama of Progress, it appears that you have not received my letter of November 6, 1956.

We are very desirous of having your advise and services in the program. If you could give us an approximate cost we could decide right away. If the fee is satisfactory I am preparing to send Mr. Mason to confer with you some weekend soon.

Please notify us accordingly.

Sincerely yours,

Charles C. Diggs Sr.

Charles C. Diggs, Sr.
President

November 17, 1956

Dear Mr. Diggs,

I have your kind letters of November 6th and 10th. I have not answered because I was not clear just how far or in what way my services would be required. I am very anxious to help, because I see in your enterprise an opportunity to do a real and lasting service to the Negro race and the world. It would not of course be practical for me to undertake complete planning of the exhibit; and this I am sure you are not asking.

As I see it the celebration falls in three main parts:

1. A business exposition, 2 An historical record of Negro Progress. 3, a dramatic performance to emphasize on large audiences the meaning of Negro participation in the history of America.

I assume that you want my help in 2 and 3. I should like to prepare a series of charts illustrating the persons and events in American Negro History from 1619 to 1956. This would involve the preparation of the matter for charts, with pictures and plans and figures. These charts must then be reproduced for exhibition and for reading. I can prepare such a set of charts.

Secondly, I could help in the planning of a dramatic presention by furnishing a suggested text. This text would have to be staged by an expert. I could furnish the text of my "Star of Ethiopia" staged in 1913, 1915, 1916 and 1924, in New York, Washington, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. This has been successfully tried out. It calls for large numbers of persons and elaborate costumes. It might not be suitable for your purpose.

I could furnish you the text of a new unproduced play of my own. It contains some of my best writing and is an unusual treatment of the race problem of the world. But an untried play is always a problem and I am not an experienced playwright.

As to costs: For the historical research, making of charts and arranging them for reproduction on plaques, I would charge $900. I would furnish the text of either play gratis only asking a reasonable percentage of profits if produced.

I would welcome consultation with your dramatic expert almost any time in the next weeks. It would be best for him ti suggest dates suitable to him - either by letter or telephone (Home phone: Main 4-2929) I am in before noon or after seven in the evening.

With best regards to your wife, to you and your son,

Very sincerely,

615 East 168th St.
New York 56, N. Y.
Nov. 28, 1956.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
℅ National Guardian
197 E. 4th St.
New York 9, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You may remember me as a contributor to the MESSENGER magazine in the early part of the century.

I enclose a booklet which I have written in opposition to Jamaica' inclusion in the proposed B.W.I Federation. May I hope that you will be kind enough to read it and, if possible, review it in pages of the GUARDIAN?

Assuring you of my continued iterest in your public activities.

Yours sincerely,

W. A. Domingo

W. A. Domingo

27-20-24

[Doubleday & Co.]

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

June 4, 1956

42-2A-157

Mr. Ken McCormick,
c/o Doubleday & Co.,
575 Madison Avenue,
New York City

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. McCormick:

I have just finished a manuscript of 414 typewritten pages. It is a fictionalized history of the American Negro from 1876 to the First World War. It is a book which lies somewhere between the ordinary historical novel and the historical narrative.

I am wondering if you would be interested in looking at this manuscript with a view to publication. I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22
MURRAY HILL 8-5300

42-RA-145

June 5, 1956

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for writing us about your manuscript on the history of the American Negro from 1876. We would indeed be interested in seeing this and look forward to receiving it.

Sincerely,

Ken McCormick
Editor-in-Chief

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

KMcC:es

17th floor

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22
MURRAY HILL 8-5300

42-2A-156

July 12, 1956

W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

In the absence of Ken McCormick, who is in Europe, he has asked me to thank you for letting us see the manuscript of THE BLACK MANSARTS. I am sorry to say that we are not going to be able to make you an offer for this: we don't feel able to take on a novel of this sort at the moment.

We wish you the best of luck in placing this manuscript with ancther publisher.

Sincerely,

Kate Steichen

Kate Steichen
Assistant to Ken McCormick

KS/jc

509 W Lafayette Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland
April 30, 1956

42-3-12

Dear Cousin William:

On Tuesday, May 15th of this year, the DuBois Circle will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. I hope that you will be able to accept the Club's invitation to be its guest and that Mrs. DuBois will come with you. Yolande has promised to be my guest that evening. She says that you have been West on a lecture tour but that you might be home in time to come to Baltimore on the above date.

The DuBois Circle was very dear to the heart of Miss Cook who reared me and she talked often about the group's beginning and of your work as organizer of the Niagara Movement. An account of the history of the N.A.A.C.P. in the NEW YORK TIMES recently referred to the same period of your life.

Please let me know if you and Mrs. DuBois can come.

Sincerely and with love,

Edythe D. Myers

[DuBois Circle]

1818 Madison Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland
May 2, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Street
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will remember most fondly the DuBois Circle and the incidents surrounding its founding. Well, the girls are going to celebrate the golden anniversary of the organization on May 15, 1956! They couldn't think of having a celebration without you.

42-3-11

The affair will take the form of a dinner which will be held at the Madison Avenue YWCA, at six o'clock in the evening. It will, of course, be informal.

Please write me at once and give me the pleasure of informing the members that you will attend. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Lena K. Lee
Lena K. Lee,
Corresponding Secretary

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS
THIRTY-ONE GRACE COURT
BROOKLYN 2, N. Y.

Copy

May 5, 1956

The Corresponding Secretary of
the Du Bois Circle;

Dear Miss Lee:

I have your letter of May2, inviting me to attend the dinner celebrating the Fiftieth anniversary of the Du Bois Circle. I remember with great pleasure the founding of your organization and beg to congratulate you on its continued existence. I regret to say however that I have no present plans which will place me in Baltimore on May 15. Kindly convey to the Du Bois Circle my earnest hope for its ~~continued existence.~~ future prosperity.

I am, Madame,
Very sincerely, yours

(signed) W.E.B. Du Bois

42-3-10

LAW OFFICES
REEVES, ROBINSON & DUNCAN
473 FLORIDA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

FRANK D. REEVES
AUBREY E. ROBINSON, JR.
CHARLES T. DUNCAN

HOBART 2-0400

August 10, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

42-2A-38

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I want to express my deep appreciation for your kindness in appearing recently as a witness for James E. Jackson. Your testimony was excellent, and Jim will always be grateful for it.

I was somewhat disturbed by the course of the Court's questioning during the cross-examination, and I want you to know that I alluded to it in my summation to the jury. I pointed out the obvious fact that you were called by the defense with pride and honor, and suggested that the entire cross-examination was an unfortunate example of the ignorance with which many of us are suffering today.

As you probably know, our efforts were unsuccessful and all of the defendants were convicted. I am sorry, naturally, but as a lawyer the case is over and I have the satisfaction of believing Jim and his associates were defended as well as possible under the circumstances.

Thank you again for testifying, and I hope that I have the pleasure of meeting or working with you again.

Very truly yours,

Charles T. Duncan

Charles T. Duncan
Attorney for James E.
Jackson, Jr.

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41-16-113

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Richard L. Ritman, Ill.
Prof. Arnold Rogow, Calif.
Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, N. Y.
I. Philip Sipser, N. Y.
Morton Stavis, N. J.
Mrs. A. W. Simpkins, S. C.
Bernard J. Somers, N. Y.
I. F. Stone, D. C.
Mrs. Nancy P. Straus, D. C.
Robert Ware Straus, Md.
Paul Sweezy, N. H.
Miss Olive Van Horn, N. Y.
Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, Mo.
David Wesley, Pa.
Frank Wilkinson, Calif.
Henry Willcox, Conn.
Prof. William A. Williams Ore.
Milton Zaslow, N. Y.

March 15, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are delighted that you will speak at our meeting in Carnegie Hall on March 28th. The meeting is called for 8:30, and we would of course be delighted to have you there throughout the evening, but since it is unlikely that you would go on before 10 o'clock, I want you to feel free to come at your convenience.

I am enclosing a copy of a clipping with respect to the Georgia Board of Education and assume that you know already of some of the parallel decisions made by the federal government with respect to Smith Act victims. This parallel seems to me one that is generally overlooked. For example, the Georgia Board of Education also imitated the New York Board of Education in proscribing membership for teachers. In New York, of course, it was "Communist-front organizations" -- in Georgia, it was the NAACP.

We are preparing a pamphlet on the Smith Act which should be available before the meeting and I will send you a copy in case you would like to have it to use in the preparation of your speech. I am also enclosing a copy of a press release which we put out yesterday. I regret that the New York Times did not carry it. We also, however, sent it to the Negro press throughout the country.

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman
Director

mg

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100

ADVERT BOND

264

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 7th Ave., New York 1 - OX 5-2863

* *

41-16-114

March 16, 1956

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Declaring that "it is hypocrisy of the first order to point the finger of scorn at the South for its treatment of Negroes, and at the same time deny Dr. W. E. B. DuBois the right to speak", the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee announced today that Dr. DuBois had been invited to speak at a Committee-sponsored meeting in Carnegie Hall on Wednesday, March 28th, and has accepted.

Dr. DuBois had been scheduled to address a meeting of the American Labor Party in Levittown tonight, but was barred from the use of Levittown Hall by Hempstead and Oyster Bay Town Supervisors. The 88-year old Negro leader was to speak on "Desegregation and the United States". Dr. Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, extended his invitation to Dr. DuBois immediately upon learning of the Levittown episode. In commenting on the issue, Dr. Foreman stated:

"Dr. DuBois, a co-founder of the National Association for the Advanceme of Colored People, is known throughout the world as the man who has done more than any other to put an end to the segregation and expolitation of Negroes. Since the turn of the century, he has fought courageously and intelligently for fundamental civil rights.

"The E.C.L.C. is proud to offer him the forum of our previously scheduled meeting at Carnegie Hall on March 28th to speak on the subject which he had intended for Levittown, or on any other subject he likes. Free speech must be preserved in fact as well as in theory. I can think of no one who deserves the opportunity to practice it more than Dr. DuBois."

The Carnegie Hall meeting was originally planned to deal exclusively with "The Smith Act: Its Origin, Use and Poison". Among the speakers on this subject will be Harvey O'Connor, chairman of E.C.L.C. and author of the recently published "Empire of Oil"; Corliss Lamont, vice-chairman of the Committee, and author of a number of books, including "Freedom Is As Freedom Does", due for publication in April, and Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel of the committee and attorney for many defendants in civil rights court cases. J. Raymond Walsh, economist, will preside at the meeting. Some 3,000 persons are expected to attend the session.

"The passage of the Smith Act in 1940", Dr. Foreman pointed out, "was the beginning of a series of laws, edicts and investigations by Federal and State Governments which have gravely encroached upon individual rights and liberties inherent in the Constitution. It is ironical that Congressman Howard W. Smith of Virginia, author of the so-called Smith Act, is the person whose latest demonstration of anti-democratic prejudice was the introduction in the House of Representatives of a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" attacking the Supreme Court for its ruling against segregation in the schools."

- end -

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
421 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N. Y. • OXFORD 5-2863

42-2A-159

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Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg, Conn.
David Haber, N. Y.
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Prof. Erich Kahler, N. J.
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Ignacio L. Lopez, Calif.
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Mrs. A. W. Simpkins, S. C.
Bernard J. Somers, N. Y.
I. F. Stone, D. C.
Mrs. Nancy P. Straus, D. C.
Robert Ware Straus, Md.
Paul Sweezy, N. H.
Miss Olive Van Horn, N. Y.
Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, Mo.
David Wesley, Pa.
Frank Wilkinson, Calif.
Henry Willcox, Conn.
Prof. William A. Williams, Ore.
Milton Zaslow, N. Y.

April 4, 1956

Dr W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It was a pleasure to have you with us at our meeting in Carnegie Hall, and we all enjoyed your speech very much.

We would like to manifest our appreciation by the enclosed honorarium. We wish that our finances were such that it could be considerably larger.

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman
Director

mg

264

[1956?]

Memo to Mr. Clark Foreman

I believe that today every American citizen should take pains to make his stand known on freedom of belief and expression in the United States:

A. That a man has a right to believe anything he wishes

B. That a man has a right to express his beliefs or not to express them; if he wishes to express them, ~~he should have the right to do so, and~~ the fact that other persons do not agree with him does not limit ~~his~~ that right of expression; in his words he is only limited by the general law of libel or incitement to disoredr and ~~if he is willing to undergo punishment for such~~

He has the right to express ~~even ideas which~~ belief in action which is at ~~illegal~~ present illegal but in that case he ~~has no right to~~ must expect punishment by the State; such punishment does not in in any way infringe his right of belief

(over)

35-3-60

The state has a right to punish a citizen for personal libel or for actually disturbing the peace. It has not the right to curtail belief or its expression ; or to interpret as disturbance of the peace, the expression of any opinion which certain persons do not like

This stand is basic to Humnan Liberty. If we attempt to fight Communism or Capitalism; Catholicism or Protestantism: white oppression or black complaint, by overthrow of this foundation ~~[illegible]~~ tenet of freedom, we distroy more than the triumph of our ideas can ever gain

63 North Hancock St., Lexington 73, Mass.,
November 8, 1956.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
In care of the
NATIONAL GUARDIAN,

with approval

42-2A-29

Dear Dr. Du Bois:-

I have just read your article in the Guardian for November 5 which deals with the inequities of our representation in the Senate. I suppose that many others have pondered this. I believe that it is desirable that we have a senate and that each state should have at least one senator and that more should be alloted to ~~other~~ states in proportion to their voting strength.

One right denied to many is the right to vote. State laws and state regulations should not condition any citizen of the United States in performing any duty owed to the Federal Government, such as when he or she is called on to vote for a president, vice-president, senator or congressman. Congress should pass laws specifying the qualifications enabling a citizen to exercise this function. If there are to be examinations in order to qualify and register as a voter, this examination should be made by agents of the federal government. The qualifications for citizenship should be universal and apply to all equally in all the states.

There is a fundamental offesnse against justice in permitting state laws to condition the rights and privileges of any citizen of the United States when called on to implement any duty owed to the government of The United States.

A corollary to the above is that the allotment of senators and of members of the House of Representatives ought ot be on the basis if registered voters.

If these suggestions are worth attention I wish that you would use your skill with words and your prestige to make them public.

At the end may I introduce myself? I was a missionary in Angola, Portuguese West Africa, for over 40 years and I am intensely interested in the people of Africa whether exploited in their own lands or disadvantaged as displaced persons. As one in his eighties I wish to commend your continued activity. On this subject a proverb of the Ovimbundu says, "Trees have buds clear to the top."

I am very sincerely yours,

Merlin W. Ennis

(Rev) Merlin W. Ennis

42/2A/65

40-A Tung Huang Cheng Ken
Peking, China
October 27, 1956

Dear Friend,

You will be receiving separately a signed copy of my short book, "From Opium War to Liberation." It is an attempt to sketch the history of China and her international relations in the past century as concisely as possible, in such a way as to enable general readers abroad to become acquainted with its essentials and connect them with those of their own history.

Many people have felt that such a job needed doing, as most similar works available in English have been weighted with "white man's burden" bias, deliberately or unconsciously. This is an effort to treat the subject from the viewpoint of the true common interests of the Chinese and other peoples.

I would very much appreciate any comment you may have, particularly of a critical kind. Is the treatment satisfactory? Do you find anything erroneous or questionable, lacking or superfluous? Can you suggest ways in which the book could be improved and made more useful in a second edition? The publishers would be grateful if you would include comment on printing and design.

I would be most happy to hear from you. Thank you in advance.

Sincerely yours,

Israel Epstein

41-19C-17

[Essel]

K. Kwei Essel,
P.O Box 1582,
ACCRA
3rd Jan. 1956

Dear Professor,

You may wonder who am I and why should I write to you. Well, it is no wonder, for a friend of mine who has read much about you has also given me some information about. As a result I have made up my mind to ask you, firstly, a portrait of yours and secondly, to be a friend of mine. I think you will not take my age into consideration. I am 24 years old and a native of the Gold Coast.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

I remain,
yours ever to be,

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AÉROGRAMME

AIR LETTER

SAVE IN THE
POST OFFIC
SAVINGS BA

GOLD COAST
COCOA FARMER
6d.

Prof. E. W. Burghardt Du Bois
23 W., 26th Street,
New York 10
N.Y.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address: K. Kwei Essel
P. O. Box 1582
ACCRA, GOLD COAST

To open cut here →

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER
MAY BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

$15 sent

[Families of Smith
Act Victims]

Dorothy Rose
Blumberg

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS
THIRTY-ONE GRACE COURT
BROOKLYN 2, N. Y.

41-16-43

June 20th, 1956

Dear Friend:

There are many Americans like myself who believe that the several victims of the Smith Act now in jail or free on bail are being unjustly persecuted for the political and social beliefs which they honestly hold. There are other Americans who believe that these victims have endangered this nation by what they have thought and said.

But I think that all of us can agree on one thing, and that is that the families and children of these persons should not be made to suffer. Families have suffered cruelly from these arrests; especially the children are in need of help, recreation and encouragement.

I am writing especially to ask if you will not contribute something in support of the Families of Smith Act Victims, which services the children and their mothers as described in the accompanying brochure. I hope you will be able and willing to help.

Very sincerely,

W.E.B. DuBois

W.E.B. DuBois

Families of the Smith Act Victims

PEGGY DENNIS, Chairman
ROSE PERRY, Executive Secretary
HATTIE CHARNEY, Treasurer

575 Avenue of the Americas, New York 11, N. Y.

41-16-41

June 23, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I'm enclosing a copy of our summer brochure as it finally emerged from the printer's, as well as one of the letter you wrote for us. We have begun our mailings, and hope for a successful campaign.

I so much enjoyed our conversation the other day, and hope to have the pleasure of repeating it at some future time.

Very sincerely,

Dorothy Rose Blumberg
Executive Secretary

209

July 12, 1956

Miss Dorothy Rose Blumberg
c/o Families of the Smith Act Victims
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York City 11

41-16-42

My dear Miss Blumberg:

Enclosed is a check which I received for the Smith Act victims.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42/2A/50

July 17, 1956

Dorothy Rose Blumberg
c/o Families of the Smith Act Victims
575 Sixth avenue, Room 805
New York City 11, N. Y.

My dear Mrs. Blumberg:

Enclosed please find letters and cash amounting to $17.00, which I have received from various persons for the families of the victims of the Smith Act.

Yours sincerely,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

[1956]

94 Hamilton Place
New York 31, N.Y.

Dear Friend:

41/16/17

May I ask you please to read the enclosed folder? I was moved when I read it; I hope you too will want to respond to its deep human appeal.

It speaks for itself, eloquently and fully. I want to add only one thing. In Jewish tradition, the concept of _tsedakah_ includes not only the idea of charity but of justice. In my vocabulary, both ideas are also summed up in the word _solidarity_.

I therefore ask you to express your simple human solidarity with the children and the families of these victims of the Smith Act. Your summer budget, like mine, probably includes some funds for vacation, leisure and relaxation. The children and the families of the imprisoned have a special need for relaxation of tension. Will you share your experiences with them? Please make your contribution really generous.

Sincerely yours,

Morris U. Schappes

Morris U. Schappes

Lil and Gil Green

42/2A+24

"This is the happiest day of my life," nine year old Larry said last March 27th as he walked down the long corridor in the Federal Building at Foley Square, New York.

To a bystander those might seem strange words; for Larry was walking away from an iron-barred cell in which his father sat.

But to young Larry—*this was the moment when he had seen and embraced and talked with his Dad for the first time in five years!*

During the preceding weeks four other political refugees had also surrendered voluntarily, after five years, to Smith Act indictments. Each stated he did so because at last Reason was replacing Hysteria in our country, and the people's struggle had begun to check McCarthyism.

And so today Larry and Judy Winston, as well as Dan, Josie and Ralph Green, can see and talk to their fathers once again — *when they travel to federal prisons in faraway Terre Haute, Ind., and Leavenworth, Kan.* For

[Families of Smith Act Victims]

The Henry Winston Family

Henry Winston and Gil Green returned, not to their homes, but to long prison terms under the thought-control Smith Act.

Meanwhile, family life may seem almost normal once again for Larry Fine, for Harriet and Kathy Jackson, and for Johnny and Bob Norman. But they know that these are still uncertain days. For their fathers, political refugees for five years, have returned home to become defendants in the current New York Smith Act trial.

★ ★ ★

There are fresh and hopeful winds blowing across our land. Outstanding public figures—such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, B. F. McLaurin, A. J. Muste, Lewis Mumford—speak out today for freedom of the Smith Act political prisoners and emphasize that they were jailed for their political ideas, not for a single illegal act. The Supreme Court has upset state sedition law convictions; it has upheld the Fifth Amendment; it has sent the infamous McCarran Act ruling against the Communist Party back for re-consideration and criticized the government's use of perjured, tainted testimony; it has agreed to take a second look at Smith Act convictions in both "conspiracy" and "membership" cases. Emboldened by these new winds, trial juries have had the courage to acquit a number of Smith Act defendants in Cleveland and Connecticut.

The Gilbert Green Family

There is much to give us all new hope and new confidence.

But our children do not view the scales of politics with objective long-range eyes. To the six- and five-year old Perry boys this is still another summer highlighted by continued trips to Danbury prison to see their father.

To Ellen Thompson, as to Arvo and Barbara Hall, and to Fred and Carl Jerome, as to Susan Weinstock, the future continues, as in the past years, to center around trips to see their fathers in Atlanta, Leavenworth, Lewisburg, and Danbury prisons.

The Fred Fine Family

Sixteen men and women are still in prison today serving Smith Act sentences. Five of these will be released in the Fall. But Henry Winston and Gil Green have just started eight year terms. Gus Hall and Robert Thompson have three and four years still to serve. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Pettis Perry, Alexander Bittelman, V. J. Jerome, Arnold Johnson, Louis Weinstock—each have another year in prison. Sid Stein finishes a three year sentence in a few months, but he and six others are currently on trial in New York.

Appeals Court decisions are awaited by 71 men and women in Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Seattle, California, St. Louis, Connecticut, Denver, Hawaii. Eleven await trial in Puerto Rico. Seven new Smith Act arrests were just made in Massachusetts on May 29. Sixteen are involved in "membership" indictments (four have been convicted) in Buffalo, Philadelphia, Chicago, South Carolina, Connecticut, Detroit, Montana.

★ ★ ★

The William Norman Family

In the midst of this uneven situation are—the children. Their special summer and child care needs are as real today as last summer.

Periodic, but brief, reunions in prison visiting rooms are still the highlight in the lives of Smith Act prisoner and family alike. These visits, together with the continued arrival of the monthly commissary check, the newspaper and magazine subscription, the new book—are the continued expressions of the strong, friendly bond between the Inside and the Outside.

The James Jackson Family

Through the generous support of thousands of people throughout our country, this bond has been maintained for five long years.

It will be a happy day when appeals such as this can be filed away as historic exhibits of a no-longer existent Period of Reaction. But until that day comes, we know we can continue to count on people like you who, regardless of differing political views, are as one in your support of the Bill of Rights for all Americans—and therefore will support the needs of the Smith Act prisoners, defendants and their children.

Please Send Us Your Contribution On Their Behalf

FAMILIES OF SMITH ACT VICTIMS
575 Avenue of the Americas
Room 805
New York 11, N. Y.

Enclosed find $............... towards guaranteeing continued visits of the Smith Act political prisoners with their families; towards the commissary and book needs of the prisoners; towards a happier holiday for the children of the men and women prosecuted for exercising their right to free thought and political belief.

Name ....

Address ....

[Far Rockaway
July 24th, 1956. COMMITTEE]

42-2A-92

Dear Dr. Du Bois:-

As per our conversation of July 23rd, we would be very happy to have the privilege of hearing an address by you on the current struggles of the Negro people in the South for integration. If you so desire you might include a discussion of the historical background of the Negro people in the U.S.

The lecture will be sponsored by a broad committee of people vacationing in the Far Rockaway area, and will be held at

214 Beach 20th Street,
Far Rockaway, N.Y.
Tel.- Fa.7-9859

on Saturday evening, August 18th, at 8:30 P.M. if this meets with your approval.

We would love to have you and your wife come and have dinner on the evening of the 18th at the apartment of one of our committee members, at whatever hour would be convenient to both of you.

We hope to hear from you that you can accept this invitation. Please let us know as soon as possible so that we can make the necessary arrangements for the dinner and lecture.

Sincerely,
Florence Gold
214 Beach 20th St.
Far Rockaway, N.Y.

(For the Committee.)

[Far Rockaway] Sunday Aug 5, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Our planning committee has decided that the Far Rockaway community would be very eager to hear your address and we expect an excellent attendance at the meeting.

41-16-119

We were very sorry to hear of your wife's accident and hope that she will mend quickly. We hope that this unfortunate occurrence will not prevent you from coming early enough to have dinner with a few of us.

With that in mind I am enclosing a train schedule. The Long Island Railroad has a terminal at Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn - so transportation will not be difficult for you. We will, of course, have a car meet you at the station.

Please let me know what train you plan to take and we will make our arrangements accordingly.

We are all looking forward to a wonderful, stimulating evening.

Sincerely
Florence Gold
(for the planning committee)

214 Beach 20 St
Far Rockaway

41-16-120

42-5A-37

July 8, 1956

Mr. Howard Fast
c/o Blue Heron Press
47 West 63 street
New York City

Dear Howard:

I have just returned from a trip to Detroit and took your "Lola Gregg" along with me. May I thank you for this very excellent and carefully drawn picture of our present disaster?

My love to the family.

Yours very sincerely,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

P. O. Box 1364
Winston Salem, N. C.
June 23, 1956

Dr. W. E. B DuBois,
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

42-2A-119

I had the pleasure of meeting you at your office last spring (1955) when I consulted you concerning doing research on the lives of Negro Congressmen and Senators.

Then I was unemployed because my name had been named by an informer in a Smith Act trial. This March the House Committee on unAmerican Activities came to Charlotte, N. C. and I was slandered and smeared once again and fired from a job I was lucky enough to get.

So to earn my living I am doing free lance writing. I plan to issue a Southern Newsletter which will carry news of the developing desegregation issues, news of the Southern labor organizing drive, and a brief historical feature about Southern Negroes and whites who opposed the slave system or who were active for democracy during the Reconstruction period.

I enclose a sample copy. I continue to read your articles in the National Guardian and I enjoy them very much. You don't hesitate to say exactly what you mean and what needs to be said. Indeed how refreshing that is.

My regards to yourself and Miss Graham whose books I have read and enjoyed.

Respectfully,
Eugene Feldman.
Eugene Feldman

[Fellowship of Reconciliation]

41-16-174

Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, New York
May 10, 1956

Memo To: Norman Thomas
Roger Baldwin
Eugene Dennis
W.E.B. DuBois ✓
Charles Lawrence
Alfred Hassler

As was indicated to each of you, a conference preceding the May 27 Carnegie Hall panel seems essential to work out questions of time allotment, conduct of the question period etc. etc.

I am writing to suggest that this meeting be held on Monday, May 21, at 3:30 p.m. in Norman Thomas' office at 112 East 19th Street. If this metts your convenience, will you let me know on the card enclosed for your convenience? If not, please indicate on card what time in the first part of the week of May 21, you could meet and I shall work out a solution on my return to my desk on May 14.

With appreciation for your cooperation in this important project, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A J Muste

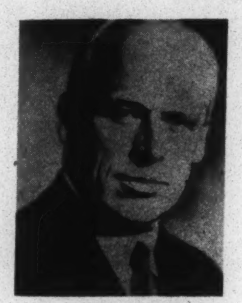
A.J. Muste Af

AJM/af

42-2A-189

[Fellowship of Reconciliation]
[1956]

FREE SPEECH REAFFIRMED!

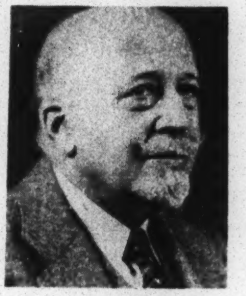


THOMAS

MUSTE

42-2A-189

DENNIS



DuBOIS

NOW—OUT OF THE SMOG OF SUSPICION AND FEAR, A REBIRTH OF THE FREE AMERICAN FORUM OF IDEAS.

> "Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."
>
> —Thomas Jefferson, 1801.

In open debate — distinguished anti-Communist leaders face-to-face with a top spokesman for the Communist Party. A free exchange of opinion at a significant moment in history!

NORMAN THOMAS—six-time Socialist candidate for president and outspoken foe of totalitarianism.

A. J. MUSTE—America's "Mr. Pacifist," Presbyterian minister, long-time labor leader. Former Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

EUGENE DENNIS—General Secretary, Communist Party, U.S.A., recently released from prison after serving his sentence under the Smith Act.

W. E. B. DU BOIS—Lecturer, author (**Black Reconstruction** and other books) and frequent contributor to the **National Guardian,** unofficial weekly organ of the Progressive Party.

MODERATOR
Roger N. Baldwin
Former Director, ACLU

CHAIRMAN
Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
National Chairman, FOR

SUNDAY, MAY 27 — 8:15 PM
CARNEGIE HALL
57th Street & Seventh Ave.

ADMISSION: Orch. or box $2 Balcony $1

This program is presented by

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

All mail orders for tickets should be accompanied by remittance and sent to: **Fellowship of Reconciliation • 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.** Mail orders must be in the FOR office not later than Tuesday, May 22, 1956.

Tickets may also be purchased at:

American Committee on Africa
28 East 35 Street

American Friends Service Committee
144 East 20 Street

Fellowship of Reconciliation
rm. 1101, 225 West 34 Street

Jefferson School
575 Sixth Avenue

League for Industrial Democracy
112 East 19 Street

Post-War World Council
112 East 19 Street

Workers Defense League
112 East 19 Street

Carnegie Hall Box Office
(May 14-27 inclusive)

Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.
May 22, 1956

42-2A-188

Arrangements for Carnegie Hall

Panel, May 27, 1956

America's Road to Democracy and World Peace Schedule

Open at 8:20. Charles Lawrence, National Chairman, Fellowship of Reconciliation - 5 minutes concluding with introduction of Moderator, Roger Baldwin.

8:25: Roger Baldwin describing arrangements for conduct of discussion, including preliminary announcement that during the exchange among panelists following initial presentation, ushers will quietly collect written questions from the audience and bring them to the Moderator. The Moderator will select questions to read which respective panelists may touch on in their closing summaries. Audience to be told that panelists, in their various organs, will deal with questions asked which cannot be handled at meeting.

8:30 - 8:50 A.J. Muste

8:50 - 9:10 W.E.B. DuBois

9:10 - 9:30 Norman Thomas

9:30 - 9:50 Eugene Dennis

(About five minutes may be consumed in introductions, so that 9:55 - 10:00 is likely to be the time when first presentations are concluded.

Twenty-minute period for an exchange of informal and brisk exchange among panelists, the Moderator first having again announced the opportunity to submit questions from the floor.

Summaries - 1o minutes each - by panelists in the following order: Dennis, Thomas, DuBois, Muste.

Release to Press. In view of the importance of the occasion and seriousness of the issues being discussed, each panelist, with the possible exception of Dr. DuBois, plans to write his speech. Each will be responsible for sending his own summary and copy of his address to the papers etc. and A.J. Muste will inform the press to this effect on behalf of F.O.R.

Tape Recording will be made of the entire meeting.

Chairman, Moderator and Panelists to meet at 8 p.m.

Entrance for speakers at 161 West 56th Street.

[Field, F.V.]

23 WEST 26th STREET • MUrray Hill 4-3734 • NEW YORK 10

42/2A/54

July 1, 1956

Received of Dr. W.E.B Du Bois for rent of the office at 23 W. 26 Street, fourth floor for six months - Jan. 1, 1956 to July 1, 1956 - $600.

Susan Watson

THE FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK FT 817616
55 WALL STREET
FOREIGN TELLERS

[redacted]

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NEW YORK, MARCH 28, 1956

BY W. E. B. DU BOIS $40.7

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3

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THE FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK
55 WALL STREET
FOREIGN TELLERS

AIL TO:

W. E. B. DU BOIS
31 GRACE COURT
[redacted] BKLYN, N Y

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NEW YORK, MARCH 28, 1956

PAYABLE TO W. E. B. DU BOIS **$40.77******

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AUTHORS FEE KCS 297.94

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41/16/80

2

[First Unitarian Ch.]

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

Telephone DUnkirk 9-1356 • 2936 West Eighth Street • Los Angeles 5, California

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Minister

February 9, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

41-10H-3

My dear Doctor DuBois:

I just learned of your acceptance of our invitation from the Forum Committee to speak April 6th at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles. I am perfectly delighted at the news. I do hope you will let me know whether you can have luncheon that day with Mrs. Fritchman and myself, or more preferable dinner that Saturday, April 7th unless you are scheduled for another address. Is there any possibility that Mrs. DuBois will be with you, if so she is most welcome?

Very sincerely,

Steve Fritchman

Stephen H. Fritchman

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
604 CAVANAUGH ROAD
GLENDALE 7 CALIFORNIA

french

41-104-5

February 15, 1956

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have not had a reply from you on the dinner invitation, but I want to make what I hope may be a better suggestion to spare you energy and time.

On one of your non-lecture days with us (and Mr. Mahoney is seeking to space your lectures well) would you enjoy a nice automobile ride into the country, possibly Ojai, or the desert, chauffered by my good friend Alice McGrath (who says she will drop anything she is doing - and she has three jobs !). Then in the evening (after dinner) she and I and Mrs. Fritchman would have about ten friends who are very informal chat with you for an hour or so in our living room. I hope you can do it...and suggest the date or let me work it out from Mr. Mahoney's schedule. Alice and I met this afternoon and plotted this idea and hope you will accept it. She helps me with many things at the church and socially and this seemed like one of the nicest ....

Cordially,

Stephen Fritchman

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

Telephone DUnkirk 9-1356 • 2936 West Eighth Street • Los Angeles 5, California

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Minister

February 24, 1956

41-10H-25

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

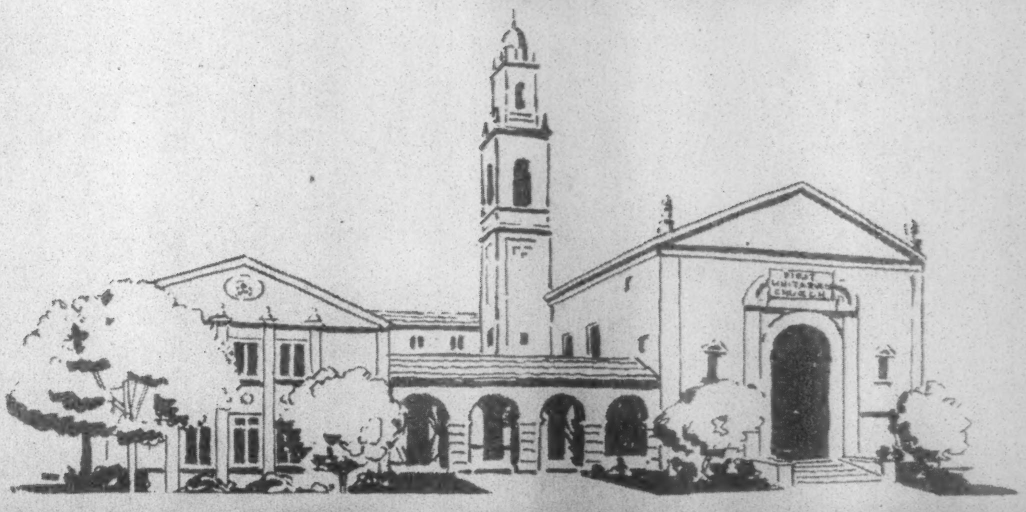
I have been in touch with Alice McGrath. She is delighted to save April 5th (which happens to be her birthday) to drive you and Mrs. DuBois into the country. She is afraid the desert might be too long a trip, you can settle this when you drive. In any case, she is saving the date and looking forward to it very much.

We will plan to join you at dinner at a nearby restaurant, and then take you to our home from about 8 to 10 p.m. to meet a very small number of young adults in our church who will especially enjoy the opportunity.

Very sincerely,

Stephen Fritchman

Stephen H. Fritchman



[FISK UNIV]

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Ansd Apl 21

April 11, 1956

42-2A-155

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Last November 28, 1955 and again February 22, 1956 your Alumni Trustees pledged to the Board of Trustees to help raise approximately $50,000 to balance the budget for 1955-56.

We pledged that from the alumni we would raise a minimun net of $10,000 before June 30, 1956. Each of us agreed not only to increase our own individual contributions, but also to contact a number of our alumni friends asking and urging that they increase their contributions and make a generous and sacrificial contribution to our Alma Mater.

If you have been reading the nation's press, and more particularly the FISK NEWS, you are aware that our Alma Mater is on the threshhold of a new surge forward that will make all of us increasingly proud. But this advance will mean that the alumni will have to assume a larger financial responsibility for Fisk.

I am writing this letter to you asking that you join with me and many other Fiskites who are this year contributing at least $100 and several who are giving substantially more to make this the most productive year yet for the Alumni Fund.

Will you please be good enough to send your contribution to

W. Dickerson Donnelly
Alumni Secretary
Alumni Office
Fisk University

and drop me a note telling me that you have responded in this effort.

Sincerely yours,

Bennett.

L. Howard Bennett

LHB:fab

Give my kindest regards to your dear wife, and accept my belated congratulations on your Birthday of Feb. 23. — I meant to send a letter. —

265,10
12
53020
26510
318120

Jean-Jacques FOL,
36 rue Gay-Lussac,
Paris (V).
France

[Fol]

[1956?]

Paris, december, 12.

41-16-28

to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,

Sir,

Since many years I have eard about your life and fight in the States, for Peace and Liberty. But just now, Alice Citron has writting me about a book you have written:
"The Soul of Black Folk".

With some of my friends teaching English(but I am not, I am teaching French), we should like to translate it to be published here.

We think it is very possible to give it to any publish-house like "Editeurs Français Réunis" or even, if you prefer, to a big one, like Corréa, Denoel or Gallimard, and in Switzerland too (J.Jeheber). We have friends working there who have asked us to translate books we like.

Can you ma/nage things in the States for the translation here, and can you give us the permission to translate it. In the same time, as it is not yet possible to get it in France, can you send it to us?

Is there not another book entitled"In battle for Peace" you have written too? Do you think it is possible to do the same with it?

I am sorry to disturb you so much. But pleaxse, answer us, giving the permission, and sending the books. Indeed, you must tell me how we can paid them.

With our best regards,

Jean-Jacques Fol

James W. Ford

February 23, 1956

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

41-19C-12

Dear Dr. Du Bois:-

My wife and I join in greeting you on your birthday (1956). Your years of struggle to emblazon the path of struggle for enlightenment against darkness and for Negro rights and democracy and peace, calls forth warm and affectionate greetings from the hearts of all fighters for justice against injustice.

We also extend our best personal regards to Mrs. Du Bois, and wish you both good health.

Sincerely yours,

Rava &
James Ford

21 E 109th St.
N.Y.C

209

Ans

Coulter, Penna.
Aug. 2, 1956.

Mr. W.E.B.DuBois.
My Dear Sir;-

In reading the appeals for help that comes to my address to fight the hysterical, insane idiots called Government Legislators sickens my mind. And:

42-2A-117

To make the feeling more sever, is the fact, that I have been placed in the position of a WARD, instead of a citizen, of this great Free?, Democratic?, Religious? World-Saving Country. And compelled to slowly disintergrate the remaining days of my life under the hypocritical slogan of "Social Security".

Please don't think, that I don't care in the present day struggle by not contributing to the war chest. But Sir. I don't have the money to participate, and that Religious hypocrite in the White House makes sure that we oldsters don't get any relief, outside of jail beer and hot-dogs--as he termed it.

One thing we can be sure of. This country will either go thru the Revolution of advancement, or into historical oblivion the same as all the other nations history records. Call it Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Atheism or whatnot, a name means nothing. It is the results that count.

I have been a close reader of you Mr. DuBois, You have fought an uphill battle, but who hasn't that is human? But the walls of Jerico are begining to crack, and the day of JOY is not as far off as we think it is.

Chas. A. Francis. Bx.30.

W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
THIRTY-ONE GRACE COURT
BROOKLYN 2, N. Y.

June 20th, 1956

Dear Friend:

There are many Americans like myself who believe that the several victims of the Smith Act now in jail or free on bail are being unjustly persecuted for the political and social beliefs which they honestly hold. There are other Americans who believe that these victims have endangered this nation by what they have thought and said.

But I think that all of us can agree on one thing, and that is that the families and children of these persons should not be made to suffer. Families have suffered cruelly from these arrests; especially the children are in need of help, recreation and encouragement.

I am writing especially to ask if you will not contribute something in support of the Families of Smith Act Victims, which services the children and their mothers as described in the accompanying brochure. I hope you will be able and willing to help.

Very sincerely,

W.E.B. DuBois

W.E.B. DuBois

(OVER)

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

February 13, 1956

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

First, heartiest birthday greetings!! May you continue to live and thrive and be an inspiration to all of us who try to maintain the high standards of truth and honesty.

Secondly, I offer my apologies for the delay in answering your kind letter. These last weeks have been especially difficult both personally and professionally; and there has not been much time for correspondence.

I have examined with care your "Color-Line in the United States, 1956," and I have very few observations to make. I believe that the most difficult area on which to make sweeping generalizations is the Southern small town. Regarding the category "Courts and Police," for example, there are some small towns in Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida that cannot be described as "Tyranny and mob rule, and in some of them may be found Negro jurors. Generally, the situation is as desperate as you describe it. I would qualify it by something like "mostly," or"largely." Churches are no longer 100% segregated in the South. You know something of what has happened in the Catholic church -- the reasons for which I won't go into. There are some Baptist and Methodist churches in small towns in Arkansas and Tennessee that are no longer segregated. The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, while not a separate denomination, functions in some instances as a church; and the members have been run out of towns because of their insistence on complete integration. There are many small towns with hospitals to which Negroes are admitted. They are segregated, of course, but they are not excluded. I believe that the description for small towns should be the same as for Southern cities: segregation or exclusion. The whole thing is a dark picture, and I fear that you have described most of it quite accurately.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope Franklin

John Hope Franklin

27-17A-74

February 17, 1956

Dr. John Hope Franklin
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

42-2A-160

Dear Dr. Franklin:

Thank you for your greetings and for your comments on the color-line diagram.

Let me congratulate you upon your appointment as Chairman of the History Department of Brooklyn College. It is a great opportunity, for a man with scholarship and courage.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Frazier]

41-16-29

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1956 MAR 27 PM 1 12 (09)

NBA196 DL PD AR=PHILADELPHIA PENN 27 1116AME=
=DR W E B DUBOIS, DLR=
:31 GRACE CT=

WILL YOU SPEAK AT RECEPTION FOR FATHER FORBES ON FRIDAY APRIL 27TH AT CHRIST CHURCH PHILADELPHIA WE WOULD EXPECT TO GIVE HONORARIUM OF FIFTY DOLLARS PLUS EXPENSES WIRE ANSWER COLLECT TO 8024 ROANOKE STREET PHILADELPHIA=

ELIZABETH FRAZIER=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

I can speak April 27, ~~[illegible]~~
Letter follows

MISS ELIZABETH P. FRAZIER
8024 ROANOKE STREET
PHILADELPHIA 18, PA.

CHESTNUT HILL
7-4424

42-2A-116

4-15-56

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are so happy that you can speak at the reception for Fr. Forbes on Friday, April 27th. You will find an invitation enclosed.

If we may suggest, we would like you speech to center on defense of the constitution linking the fight for civil rights in the South with the preservation of our liberties throughout the country. Planning out the program we will have to limit you to 20-25 minutes, I'm sorry so say.

You will see on the invitation that Mr. Melish and Mr. Robinson will also be coming from New York. Perhaps you can come together. Nearer to the time we will let you know where we will have dinner together before the reception.

Fr. Forbes would be very happy if you would spend the night with Mrs. Forbes and Him. However if you would rather stay at a hotel let us know and we will make a reservation.

Looking forward to meeting you, I am

Sinderely yours,

Elizabeth P. Frazier

56.75
3.50
6025

[1956] 416-30

You are cordially invited to attend

a reception honoring

THE REV. KENNETH RIPLEY FORBES

Friday, April 27, 8:30 P.M.

CHRIST CHURCH
Neighborhood House on North Second Street
(southbound between Arch and Market)

WITH

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

THE REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH

EARL ROBINSON

Refreshments
Reservations $2.00

RSVP

Sponsors

Mrs. Katherine Mc. C. Arnett
The Rev. John Pairman Brown
Miss Wilhelmina Carver
Rabbi Elias Charry
The Very Rev. John W. Day, D.D.
Miss Elizabeth P. Frazier
Miss Harriet Guignon
The Rev. Fleming James, D.D.
Mr. Rockwell Kent
Mrs. Alice F. Liveright
Louis F. McCabe, Esq.
The Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, D.D.
Mr. George B. Murphy, Jr.
Prof. Helen U. Phillips
Mr. Sol Rotenberg
The Rev. Guy Emery Shipler, D.D.
Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith
The Rev. Wm. B. Spofford, D.D.
Dr. Willard Uphaus
Mr. J. S. Zucker

The Reverend Kenneth Ripley Forbes has a long and worthy record of service on behalf of peace, better race relations, defense and extension of our civil liberties and protection of the rights of foreign born Americans.

Motivated by his religious convictions Fr. Forbes was impelled to join with others in church and community who were working toward these ends. And now, as he approaches his seventy-eighth birthday, we hope you will agree with us that a tribute to him at this time would be most appropriate.

Knowing Fr. Forbes as we do, to limit the tribute to an expression of appreciation of his work alone would prove a source of embarrassment and irritation to him. We are therefore planning that this affair be the occasion for the collection of funds to be distributed by Fr. Forbes to the causes in which he is interested.

Checks may be made payable to:

ELIZABETH P. FRAZIER
8024 ROANOKE STREET
PHILADELPHIA 18, PA.
CH 7-4424

[1956.]

MISS ELIZABETH P. FRAZIER
8024 ROANOKE STREET
PHILADELPHIA 18, PA.

CHESTNUT HILL
7-4424

42-4A-135

April 24

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Fr. Forbes is very happy that you and your wife if she is coming will spend the night with him and Mrs. Forbes after the reception, this Friday evening.

We have decided not to meet for supper before the reception so you can come over when convenient. The 6:30 P.M. train from the Penn. Station arrives at 30th Street Station, Phila. at 8:15. The one before that leaves at 6:00 P.M. Take a taxi to Christ Church Neighborhood House which is behind the Church on Second Street just North of Market St.

I have written Howard Melish suggesting that he call you and Mr. Robinson so that you can arrange to come together.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth P. Frazier

CHRIST CHURCH
NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE
2nd St. N. 1 MARKET

[ROMEO GARRETT?]

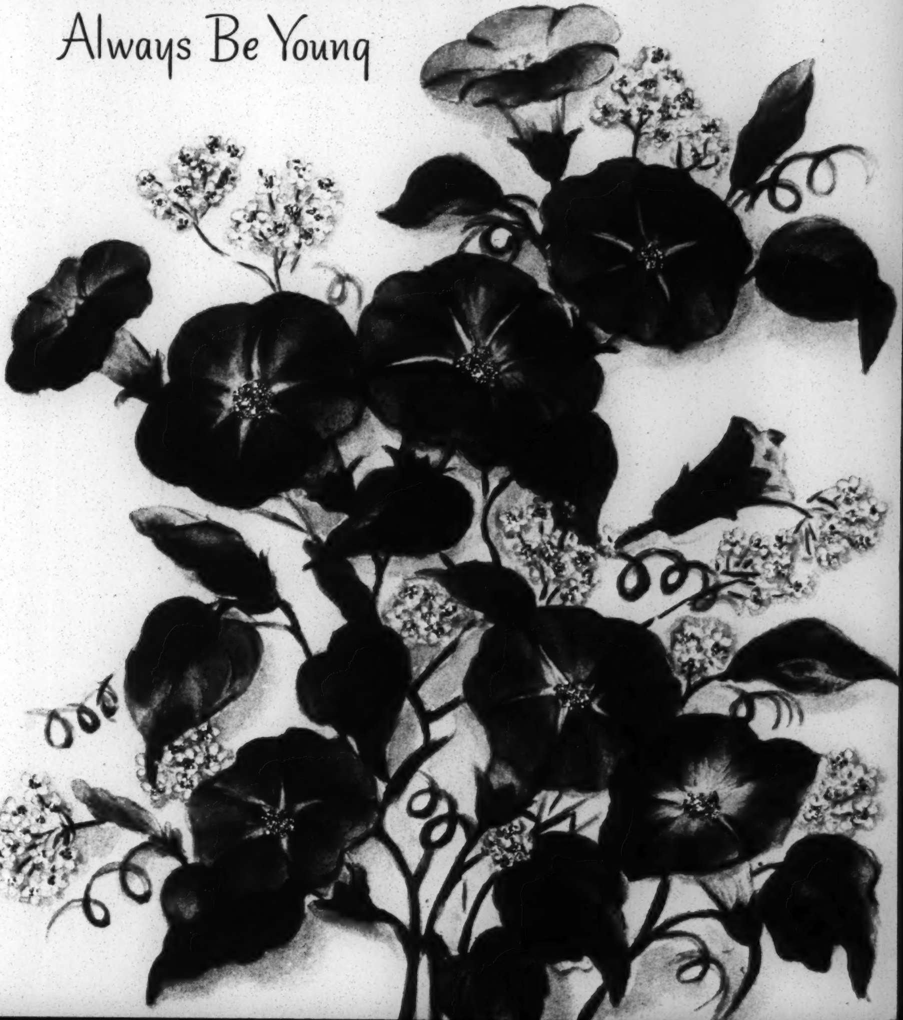
Your birthdays do not make you old,
Instead, they just impart
More charm, more graciousness to you,
For you're so young in heart;
So may this day become you
Like the ones you've had before--
And may the year to follow it
Hold many joys in store.

Garrett

41|19A-C|14

A BIRTHDAY MESSAGE

For Someone Who Will Always Be Young



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March 1, 1956

Mr. G. A. Georgopulo & Co.
48 Stone street
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find my check for $15.50, in return for which please send me 500 Andron cigarettes in boxes of 50. I wish them with gold tips and with the initials W.E.B.D.

Please have them delivered at 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 1, New York.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42/3/154

As from -

157 Changshu Lu
Shanghai, China
December 16, 1956

41-16-93

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The commemorative celebration to honor Benjamin Franklin together with Pierre and Marie Curie held here in Peking was indeed a dignified occasion of high cultural merit.

Our Chinese friends were of course very much disappointed that external circumstances prevented your coming for the occasion. You would have received a tremendous ovation for you are held in high esteem in this country. Since you could not deliver your message in person, it was translated into Chinese and a copy such as the enclosed given to each person at the celebration. Meantime I am told that the original English version is appearing in a current issue of "People's China".

The United States, as you probably know, was represented by Abe Capek who came from Prague. He delivered an excellent speech, - a credit to American writers, to Benjamin Franklin and to the best in American life and thought. Other Americans who had been invited sent their regrets and greetings. There was only time enough to read their names, headed by your good self and Linus Pauling.

Best Wishes
for Christmas
and the New Year.

We hope for more favourable
days when you may actually come
to China.

Sincerely yours, Talitha Gerlach

[Gilbert]

1224 Frees St.
Bedford P. O. Ohio
Feb. 27, 1956

Dr. Du Bois:

I am colored and am glad that you are on our side. I know you're all right because I see that you are a Fellow Am. Ass. of Adv. of Science. To know what a fellow is is to know what he believes in. Your writings and your works clearly show that you have dignity and ability. I am an inventor in mechanical science. It is built on the theory of 'raised pressure' which is applied around and about the jet or rocket exhaust. It makes that quality possible of speed and distance which was before now intangible because the wrong application was in force. This invention makes super and ultra sonic aviation entirely feasible, but is already being developed. In some of my studies and research one gains an insight in foresight and theory. Here is a pet quote of mine "Ingenuity and inventions _super-cedes_ technicians." I'm sure you'll agree with me that in all forms of creativeness, the necessities arise to _re-train_ technicians and engineers. So by such media of thinking there is a constant realization that one must never let up or stop progressing. Now that the colored people of the U.S.A. are moving foreward we must beware of the roadblocks and obstacles that confront us psychologically (take it easy) etc. This is why I so strongly believe in the N.A.A.C.P. and anything that know-how and intelligence can help I want to be able to render. Pray that I may succeed without my hands being tied as is the practice

Yours truly
John Gilbert

Happy Birthday

(01)

41-19C-5

NBA126 BDA PD=WILMINGTON DEL 26 436PME= 1956 FEB 26 PM 5 03

DR W E B DUBOIS=
31 GRACE COURT=

[GOENS?]

HAPPY BIRTHDAY GREETINGS WISHING YOU MANY MORE=
GRACE=

BY WESTERN UNION

735-55

Miss Anna M. Graves, C/O Miss Dora Jaufroid, 921 Jahncke Ave., Covington, Louisi
Louisiana

January 16, 1956

41-16-83

My dear friends: - Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois (Shirley)

Here is a photograph of the stool which I should love you to have and have in your charge for the future. It was my greatest treasure and I do want it placed where it will do most good. After you have enjoyed it for as long as you want to, if you have not a place you consider better, what about the Museum of Modern Art? To me it is not primitive, but shows a realization of the worthy-of-scorn imperialism. Perhaps I have read into it more than others can see, but I honestly do see that "aboveness" of the petty-mindedness of the imperialists. If you feel that you would like it and can take charge of it, do let me know.

I have not yet been to the museums in New Orleans. I do not know whether they are yet ready to see its real value. I want it in - finally in - a place where it will be seen by all groups, not just one group; and in the museums of the Negro Colleges those who need most to see it will rarely see it. But I leave it to you.

Your last article in the National Guardian, dear Dr. Du Bois, certainly showed no sign of age. But I, though only just 80 (in August last) am beginning to feel that I cannot do all I want to do and expected to do. My eyes are the chief offenders. Suddenly, about two months ago it became impossible for me to read, for the words were all blurred on the pages and the hand magnifying glass did not help. The occulist is not very encouraging, though he does not threaten me with actual blindness. He says it is not so much the fault of the organs of vision as of the blood entering the retina, which is incapable of doing its work. So he gave me very powerful vitamin pills and says that I shall probably have to take them indefinitely (four a day at ten cents a pill) and he of course gave a prescription for new glasses. But these do not magnify enough. The blurring has almost gone, ~~and~~ (unless I am having a spell of weakness) but I have to use a hand magnifying glass as well as the spectacles, and that prevents sewing when one has not a hand free for the hand glass and also prevents reading while one is at one's meals. And this means I have to get another pair of spectacles. But I have no pain and my far signt is not seriously affected yet. I can still revel in the beauty of the pines against the blue sky. But this is preventing the work I wanted to do here, or making it more difficult. I am sending out the pages for signatures asking the chairman of the Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights to have a hearing of the

41-16-84

Committee in Mississippi, and talking to as many people as I can. I have had one very nice Colored woman to tea, which of course has caused most unfavourable comment, but one white friend brought her and another came to meet her. She, unfortunately was not much of a help, because she is one of the ultra fundamentalists. Every word in the Bible is true and even if Jehoveh told Samuel to hack Agag to pieces before Him, that was quite all right because it was "in the Bible". I am sure that later I shall find some whose intellectuality will impress the white people who are willing to meet them, but I have not found them yet. We are two hours from New Orleans by bus and that means nearly three dollars for the round trip, so I have been only once - to the occulist's. But I hope to go in later and meet again Mr. Dombrowski (whom I met at luch with Mrs. Ethel Clyde in New York just before I went to France in October 1953.

Of course you know howhorrified I am at what is happening in Mississippi, (and to a certain extent the sentiment is the same all over the "Deep South") and the oases of decent right thinking are small and infrequent and yet when one finds one of these oases one is very happy. The woman cashier at the bank is reading my books and told me that the story of the little girl who said to me: "Miss Graves, why an I black?" and my answer was wonderful. You may remember my answer in the "Foreword" to my book "Benvenuto Cellini had no Prejudice against Bronze" At any rate I found that she was entirely "with us" and it was surprising in one of her circle

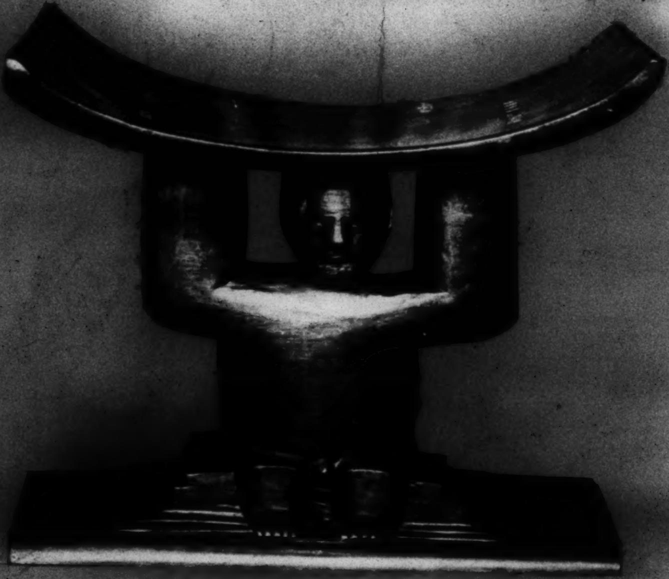
Would it not be possible to start a petition asking for the removal Senator Eastland from the chairmanship of the committee which calls others breakers of the Constitution when he is far guiltier than those he persecutes.

Affectionately and admiringly, to you both

Your friend

Anna Melissa Graves

41-16-76



This story is also African. I got it in the Gold Coast. These give an idea of some of the things I should give besides the notes.

Anna M Graves

K

L and K

Olame ozgi

K [illegible]

4 L one page

Same type as L.

C/O Miss Dora Jaufroid, 921 Jahncke Ave. , Covington, Louisiana

[Graves]

24 / I / 1956

41-16-86

My dear Dr. Du Bois and Mrs. Du Bois - Shirley:

The letter to my cousins who have been harbouring the stool for me went off in the post which is just about to be collected. I am afraid I cannot get this off until tomorrow, for I wanted first to tell you that the directions for the sending on of the African trophy had already been attended to . I do hope that you will not think my enthusiasm exaggerated; but I do not think you will; and I also hope that nothing will happen to it between Ruxton Maryland and Brooklyn New York. Express trains or trucks do sometimes have accidents. Such accidents are - rather such an accident is - all that can prevent its arriving at 31 Grace Court, for I am sure that my cousins will get it off right away and if they seem to delay I shall write to hurry them. It was very generous of you to send the check for the expense of packing and shipping. I also hope that the packing will be so good that no damage will be done to it on the way. I shall be happy when my prize is where I think it will be best understood, appreciated and shown. Emily Balch is one of its great admirers. She used to love to look at it in my atelier (attic room) in Geneva.

By the way Emily has been asked to visit China, and I am urging her to go. But she feels at her age - though just a little more years than yours, dear Dr. Du Bois (She will be 89 in February) - it would not be wise for the sake of the trouble she might give her Chinese friends; but I tell her that her Chinese friends would feel happy to do anything they might do, even if it might be called "trouble" and would feel that she had more than recompensed them by simply telling the truth about what she saw in China. Emily is not at all leftish, neither is Muriel Lester, who was Gandhi's friend (he stayed with her when in London at the Round Table Conference) and she was for years the "field secretary" of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. She was in China - in Peking - in 1953. She is rather emotional, and rather a fundamentalist in her creed; but she was so overcome at what she saw that she said: "I am inclined to think that at the Last Judgment the Chinese Government which, when hungering those who are a-hungered is giving them to eat will come off better than the governments of our 'Christian' countries." Those were not her exact words but that was their significance. I have given away every copy I could get of that number of "Peace News", so I have not her words by me. But those who are fighting against acknowledging that the Truth and Integrity and Human Brotherhood are more "in possession" in China than in the West are more apt to listen to those like Emily Balch and Muriel Lester who, when convinced of China's miraculous achievement (in truthfulness, integrity, brotherliness - and cleanliness) cannot be propagandists for the Left, as you and I might be called. But even if Emily thought she could go, perhaps the State Department might refuse her a passport for China, as it states on each passport that China is one of the countries for which the passport is not valid.

We can keep on drinking the toast: "To a frontierless world, to a classless society, to a cosmic race, and to religion or no religion being the affair of each individual for himself in so far as it is metaphysical or mystic, but in so far as it is based on the Golden Rule - universal!" It seems to me that today the Chinese more than any other group are leading Humanity to that goal. Don't you think so?

Affectionately to you both

Anna Melissa Graves

P.S. I have glasses which came yesterday - which seem to make reading easier

P.P.S. I am sending for the book about Jomo Kenyatta's trial. I once met him in Geneva - 25 years ago. I am also sending for Reginald Reynolds' book on Africa. Do you know it? I thought his "White Sahibs in India" the most revealing book about India

Please excuse smudges

C/O Miss Dora Jaufroid, 921 Jahncke Ave., Covington, Louisiana

29 / II / 1956

41-16-79

My dear friends - Shirley and Dr. Du Bois,

I am so, so glad that the stool arrived on the birthday; and I, too, wish I could have seen your smile, dear Dr. DuBois when you looked at it. I hope you see in it what I see: - that expression "Scorned to be scorned by one that I scorn". (I think that comes from Tennyson's "Maude" , but I haven't a Tennyson here with me.)

Here are some photographs of two of my temporary "Homes" . The first are of my atelier (7th floor without an elevator, but I had Mt. Blanc!) The second one of my pied à terre (the Swiss one was a "pied au Ciel."!) in the house of a cousin Sudbrook Park, near Pikesville Maryland where I lived from 1946 to 1953. I should still be living there, but I came to the end of my funds. My cousin's house was heavily mortgaged and though she wanted me to stay and would have been willing to make any sacrifice possible, I knew she had to have my rent in order to pay the interest on her mortgage, so I decided to have asale and go to this adopted niece in Limoges France. But before having the sale I had these photographs taken as I had had those taken in Geneva. I am lending them to you (I wish I could say "I am presenting them to you", but I have no duplicates and I often need them as I am needing them now to explain to you the views of the stools. You see in the Geneva photographs I had the stools on the floor. (I gave the replica of "The Golden Stool of Ashanti" to Morgan College, and the little one a cousin brought me from the Cameroons I sold - alas!) But This ~~one~~ Stool of the man whose expression I admire so much and the artist who produced it I feel to be a true creative artist, not a copyist I felt needed a stand which would bring it face to face with anyone sitting in a chair opposite it. Perhaps you do not think it needs the stand, for probably it was originally placed on the ground, but I think most of those who looked at it were themselves on the ground and so got the view - "face to face". But I may be mistaken. At any rate here are the photograpsh which show it with a stand and without a stand. Perhaps the stand was too large though not too high. I am so happy it is now at 31 Grace Court, and will be eventually where you think it can do most good.

I wish I had time to go on writing for there are so many things I want to talk to you about and hear what you think about them. But tonight I am rather Hors de combat, with a bronchial cold on top of a catarrhal one. However I have no fever and no pain - so far, and hence have no right to grumble

Affectionately to you both

Anna Melissa Graves

By the way the stand was made of pine wood stained to look like Walnut. Evidently my cousin had not been using it + so did not send it

41-16-75 [1]

[Graves]

c/o Miss Dora Janfreid
921 Jahncke Ave.
Covington, Louisiana

May 7 - 1956

My very dear friends:
Dr. Du Bois and Shirley

I was so glad to get your letter and to hear of the successful tour in California. I haven't read the article by Faulkner, (in "Look" was it?) - which seems to have contradicted what he said in Rome when he first heard of the lynching of Emmett Till. At any rate in his telegram he seems to contradict what I heard he said in "Look" - for if you, dear Dr. Du Bois, are morally, legally and ethically,

[2]

right" – which of course you are – couldn't be. Faulkner – he having begun to repudiate the "Life" article and [illegible] what he said in Rome and reiterate what he telegraphed for "gradualism" would certainly mean another hundred years of tragedy. Would it? There is, of course, here in Covington violent opposition to desegregation by many of the most vociferous – but I think acceptance is gaining ground. You know the archbishop's stand. He says he will excommunicate those who actively oppose the Supreme Court's decision. Some of the die-hards say they will leave the Church – others say that they will appeal to the Pope. I have joined the "Southern Conference Education Fund" – which, of course, is called "Communist".

[3]

We are now past the spring - and in seeming I wouldn't advise you to come here now. The summers in a river valley as far south as this are pretty bad. the humidity is excessive. One is literally soaked in perspiration. I never felt the heat any where as I felt it last summer here - except in the Yangtse Valley in Nanchang, and in Shanghai. Come the end of next February or in March - or the first week in April - since you want to come in the spring. the azalea season is in March - and, dear Shirley, share my room. I have only one - sitting sleeping - bed-room with a single roll-away bed and mattress, but my room is large enough to squeeze in another couch and Dora will lend me one. So let me count on that. the azalea season. I shall have time to look around for a bed for you, dear Dr. Du Bois. Covington is two hours by bus from New Orleans.

I wonder if you feel as I do about Molotof, Kruschev and the others almost turning on Stalin. Of course Stalin made mistakes, some serious ones - but it seems to me that the wonderful transformation in the U.S.S.R. was made while he was at the helm. I think he was loyal to what he conceived was Lenin's idea of the Revolution. Think of the contrast between his loyalty to Lenin and Chiang Kai-shek's repudiation of all that Sun Yat Sen stood for! And I think the struggle for peace has always been Stalin's. It is the West always which has opposed it. The Peace Conference of Stockholm and others following were approved of and upheld by Stalin as well as by many in other nations. At any rate the accusing Stalin of all sorts of wrong-doing when he is no longer here to defend himself seems to me ungrateful and not "cricket" for neither Molotoff or Kruchef would be where they are but for Stalin. I am afraid of the Revolution in the hands of such characters. I have written at length to Anna Louise Strong and am writing to [illegible] to find out what they think. I am sure the Ashanti stool is placed first right!

Affectionately to you both - Anna Melissa

C/O Miss Dora Jaufroid, 921 Jahncke Ave., Covington, Louisiana

June 15, 1956

41-16-80

Dear Dr. Du Bois and dear Shirley - dear friends:

I am very anxious to know how you feel about the, what seems to me, very excessive blame of Stalin. Here is an enlargement of a letter I wrote to Anna Louise Strong. The letter which she received she said she aggreed with in every detail; but this is not exactly the letter I sent her, though it is only an enlargement on the theme, not at all different in sentiment from the one I sent. And as you see I have also written on the same subject to Corliss Lamont. I have not heard from him. I was disappointed in Scott Nearing's answer; because he did not really answer it and got off on quite a different subject: - his admiration of the British, especially the Conservatives! I knew both Anna Louise and Scott in Russia. It was Anna Louise who got me my Soviet visa in 1924. Scott and I were at the "Dom Oochoinik" (Maison des Savants') at the same time in 1925. I am now going to send copies of this letter, telling what I think to six or seven people; and you are the first after the three I have mentioned. (so I sent a copy to "The National Guardian I hope it is not asking too much to ask you to read it carefully and critically and tell me if you agree or if you accept the Krushchev succession. I confess I am really frightened. I have heard nothing at all of what Mao Tse-tung thinks of the change. Have you? I am not a member of the Communist Party and never even considered being one except once in Portugal where I lived for six months in 1931-32. The Salazar regime was - and is - quite Fascist and it was only in Portugal that I ever lived in a Fascist State. (Although today the U.S.A. is near Fascist) But I am fundamentally a believer that the entering into the rhythm of violence even for the worthiest end is too dangerous; for the getting out of the rhythm is too difficult. I do not think that all of Gandhi's aims are equal to, or as fundamental as, Lenin's, but I hope some day the two may be combined: - Lenin's aims and Gandhi's methods; ~~but~~ However in the meanwhile I do not judge those who feel they must use arms to attain justice: - I do not judge the Mau Mau or the Algerians; and I would be a little frightened if the Africans of Kenya or the Algerians were willing to compromise. And I do think, in spite of regrettable violence Stalin's good work was marvellous. But please let me know what you think of my enlarged letter to Anna Louise and my letter to Corliss Lamont. and what you yourself think of the matter.

Your article in the National Guardian, dear Dr. Du Bois, is so clear and so true and so unanswerable and so inspiring to all whose Fear is not making them immune to inspiration! My friend Dora Jaufroid wants to know the origin of the quotation: "It is the stars, it is the ancient stars, it is the old and everlasting stars."

Affectionately to you both.

Anna Melissa Graves

[copy of enclosure?]

40/54/57

STATEMENT BY ANNA M. GRAVES

I know that Stalin did a good many things which were very regrettable, but I am a little frightened, troubled, and shocked at the desire to heap so much blame on him when he is no longer able to defend himself. I do not think he compared to Lenin or to Mao Tse-tung. I regret emphatically his treatment of the Kulaks, and think the Chinese treatment of the wealthier peasants far wiser as well as being far more humane. It also seems to me that Stalin made a great mistake, a woeful mistake in his purges of so many of the "Old Communists." I also feel that it was not only a mistake, but unpardonable his deliberately changing the records so that posterity might think that he -- Stalin -- had developed the "Red Army" and saved Russia in the initial stage of the Revolution, when we know that Lenin gave to Trotsky the task of forming the Red Army and that Trotsky performed almost a miracle in making it out of the material he had in 1917-1919. In the "Ten Days that Shook the World" (The ten days in November 1917 when the Revolution was accomplished in Petrograd) as you know Trotsky took a prominent part, and Stalin no comparable part. I haven't John Reed's book here, but I have Rhys Williams's "Through the Russian Revolution" and Stalin is not mentioned. As you also know Rhys Williams, as well as John Reed, was in Petrograd those ten days and he himself took part. That act of Stalin's: -- the ordering of records changed, so changed that the future might think that he, and not Trotsky, had been responsible for the success of the Red Army, and that he, and not Trotsky had had the confidence of Lenin in regard to the defense of Russia at the beginning of the Revolution -- that act of Stalin's was contemptible, it seems to me. Yet I am sure he justified the act to himself. He knew that Trotsky's influence was dangerous and might wreck the Revolution.

For -- in the contention between Stalin and Trotsky on the question of the policy to be pursued and on what object immediate attention should be concentrated (in that difficult period just after Lenin's death) I think Stalin was absolutely right. As you know Stalin believed that attention should be concentrated on the building of one successful Socialist state -- the USSR -- within its borders as a demonstration that such a state was possible and that it could be an inspiration and eventually an example. And Trotsky believed that attention should be concentrated on spreading the Revolution -- on what he called "Permanent Revolution", i.e., in trying to bring about Revolution beyond the borders of the USSR -- everywhere in carrying "le bonnet rouge" to one country after another, especially, naturally, first to the anti-revolutionary states who were the USSR's neighbors, for as long as those states were not revolutionizedand were anti-socialist Trotsky thought they would want to invade a revolutionised state next to them, so spreading the Revolution from the USSR into the next state and the next, and then the next was the immediate necessary step to prevent the Revolution's being crushed where it had already occurred. But it seems to me that intensive attempt to spread the Revolution at that moment (in 1925-6-7) would have made invasion certain and would have meant the end of the Revolution and the end of the hope of a socialist state for a century; perhaps for more than a century; and the Chinese Revolution would not have been possible.

For not the Governments only in Poland and the other neighboring states were unready for a Revolution, the people also were unready. An attempt on the part of the Government of the USSR to bring about a Revolution in Poland, or any of the Baltic States or Romania would have been considered an aggression --,

40|SH|158

an act of war. Whereas if the Government of the USSR was chiefly occupied in building a Socialist State at home there would not be -- on the part of the other nations -- a comparable feeling of the necessity of crushing the USSR Government by invasions. It is possible that if the French had concentrated their efforts on building their Revolutionary State at home their Revolution would have been more successful and their Republic would not have had to wait from 1789 to 1871 to be established -- eighty two years! When the Girondists succeeded in carrying their measure of the declaration of war against Austria in 1792, Marat, Robespierre and most of the Jacobins were opposed (Kropotkin's History of the Great French Revolution). And eventually not only Austria but all Europe waged war against France. And if the USSR had been aggressive in carrying her "bonnet rouge" into other countries in 1925-26-27 there would undoubtedly have been invasions of Russia not only by Poland and the neighboring states but by all Europe (and America!) And if there had been this renewal and more insistent invasions by the "Allies" there would have been no time for demonstrating the possibility of building a successful socialist state, and no means. By insisting that the immediate necessity was the making of the USSR a land of literate, educated, cultured people, an industrialised land, with cooperative and collective agriculture, advancing in electrification and development of irrigation and means of transportation, care for health and advancing towards adequate housing -- and Socialism -- by insisting on this policy it seems to me STALIN saved socialism. For was it not Stalin who stood for the policy which has made the USSR not only a power advancing towards socialism, but also the second power in the world today, when in 1917 it had no relative importance at all? And has not almost all of this advance been made

40/5H/59

since 1925? And is it not quite certain that what has been accomplished would have been frustrated if Trotsky had not been exiled? He was too insubordinate in spirit to be allowed in the country while division in the ranks of the Communists was so dangerous; but he was not purged out of existence. Exile, it seems to me, was absolutely necessary; but not falsification of records. (And if it was true that the murder in Mexico was due to Stalin's manoeuverings that would have been inexcusable; but I do not think there are any proofs that it was.)

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I suppose after Stalin became so absolute in power it was almost impossible for him not to be tempted to abuse that power; and I think he did; but not to anywhere nearly so great a degree as many other rulers whose power was not so great, and not to a fraction of the degree his enemies claim that he did. Did not men like Gorki, one of the most compassionate of men, Romain Rolland, so unusually sensitive feel that Stalin was not cruel by nature, for they, as many others, admired him? And is not the broad-minded, generous and democratic solution of the manner of dealing with the national and ethnic minorities by far the justest in human history, the most successful, the most completely lacking in prejudice, and the only one without any conception whatsoever of discriminating in any way against any individual or group because of national or racial origin or affiliation? And have not encouragement and aid been given to each group in the study and development of its own culture and language? Was not aid and stimulus and direction given to each minority group in the development of its own economic possibilities, so that it could contribute most fully both to the well-being of the Union as a whole, and to itself as a part of the whole? Were not the forms of religion and the faiths of each people uninterfered with?

But was not the elimination of illiteracy, were not the schools for all the children in each minority able surprisingly soon to end the subjugation of women, so that today women are often delegates to the Soviet of Nationalities? And is not each national or racial minority, no matter how tiny, represented by its own delegate or delegates in the Soviet of Nationalities in Moscow? And have not many of the members of the minor nationalities held high places with honour? And do not students of Soviet Civilisation who are severely critical of other features of Soviet policy acknowledge that the question of the dealing with ethnic and national minorities has been admirably solved and wonderfully successful? And Stalin was the author of this policy and the first and only Commissar of Nationalities. Wasn't he?

And was not the successful defense of the USSR against the Germans in 1941-45 to a large extent due to Stalin's planning, and to his choice of those who aided him in carrying out his plans? Was not this true both from a military-tactics point of view and because of the moving of industrial plants beyond the Urals, and the fact that the land beyond the Urals had -- before 1941 -- been so far developed that it was prepared to receive the plants, and agriculturally so developed that the devastation of the Ukraine -- the granary of Russia -- did not mean complete starvation of the people of the Soviet Union. And was not all this due, more than anything else, to the ability and to the devotion to his task -- of STALIN, as Premier, Commander-in-Chief, and Head of the Communist Party?

It seems to me that the present heads of the Communist Party and of the USSR are treating Stalin as he treated Trotsky, only much more unjustly? for, but for Stalin they themselves would not have a socialist country inwhich to

40/3H/61

live, nor be in the positions in which they are. I hate to think what they may have been thinking while they, as pallbearers, carried his body to the grave. Their traducing him now seems to me lacking in gratitude and not a little cowardly (like jackals who wait until the lion is dead to howl around his body); and it seems to me sets a very bad example to their countrymen. And some of the things they say seem small and mean. If we, in this country were panicky about "Nazi Fifth Columns", an ocean away from Germany, it is not strange, it seems to me, that Stalin should have feared various "Fifth Columns" with the enemy inside his country. It seems to me inexcusable for Communists to have repeated such stories about him as that he complained in his last days, that people would not look him in the face, would not look him straight in the eyes. (It would not have been strange if his present traducers if they were then contemplating what they are now doing, had found it difficult ~~hadxfound himxdifficult~~ to look him straight in the eyes!) And the telling of stories -- the small mean stories -- which were told of him in his last days: old, worn out, on the verge of a stroke or just having one, the telling stories of what he said in that state: -- e.g. what he was said to have said about the Jews -- seems to me contemptible, and I am afraid ominous, in that it signifies a sort of apostasy, or at any rate indicates that apostasy is possible. Stalin is in his grave now, as well as those he sent to theirs; and since while he was at the head of the Government the miracle was performed of the USSR's transformation into the literate, cultured, labor-protecting, health-protecting state she is today, marvellously industrially and agriculturally developed in comparison with what she was when he came to the helm; and a state well advanced towards socialism, I cannot but feel that those who are now traducing him may be dangerous.

40|5H|62

40/54/63

If the Revolution of the Soviets should crumble entirely, as Mexico's did, that would be, it seems to me, one of the greatest tragedies of human history. Perhaps the Chinese Revolutionists can admonish the Russian Revolutionists, as sometimes a younger brother can admonish an elder brother when the elder seems about to let the work of the father crumble. The Chinese would, at any rate, recognize the difference between Stalin's loyalty to Lenin's ideals and Chiang Kai-shek's apostasy in regard to Sun Yat-sen's; and not forget, I am sure, what they themselves owe to the USSR because of the encouragement they received when Stalin was in power.

But I cannot help half hoping that what the papers in the USA *say* that the present heads of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party are saying, is not true; I cannot help half hoping that the Communists of the USSR are *not* saying all these disloyal things; that the Pravda and the Isvestia are *not* publishing what the capitalist papers here say that they are; that the papers of the capitalist countries -- as they so often do -- have again deliberately distorted what the heads of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party and the Moscow papers really said. But even if the present heads of the Soviet Government *are* saying those things they are said to be saying -- the which I feel would be showing disloyalty and would be dangerous -- this does not mean that I condemn these present heads of the USSR for their efforts to have freer communication between the USSR and the people of the West, and more friendly relations with the people of the Western countries. But I think Krushchev and the other present heads should not intimate that they are originating that attempt, and accuse those who were deciding on, and carrying out the policies of the USSR between 1945 and 1953 of failing to make those efforts; for it seems to me that

40|5H|64

after cooperating as allies during the year 1941-1945 the Soviet Government and the Soviet people wished to continue those friendly relations and that it is the West which is responsible for the "Iron Curtain" and the "Cold War." The USSR could not but wish to avoid unfriendly relations for unfriendly relations might lead to war, and war again just after the 1941-45 war would have meant complete ruin to the USSR, especially since war in 1945 would have meant nuclear war on the part of the West. She could not have stood another war, and hence, of necessity, had to try and not provoke a war. She did not have private capitalists (to whom war industries meant millions) in control of her government. On the contrary she needed to concentrate every effort on reconstruction after the greatest devastation in history and in carrying out her five year plans.

I do not think the so-called "Satellites" were forced by the USSR to adopt the Communist form of government. I think the people of Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia themselves adopted the Communist form of government; and of course the USSR was glad that they did, since it was good to have such neighbors. The people of these countries had suffered too much under their feudal, in the case of some countries, capitalist, governments and under the Nazi fascists who had entered their lands. But if their becoming Communist in their form of government had been due to the USSR's pressure or aggression, why did not the USSR force Finland to become Communist? The USSR is more vulnerable on the Finnish frontier than on any other. It would be a great advantage to have a Communist neighbor so near Leningrad; but the people of Finland did not themselves form a Communist Government, and the USSR did not attempt to force the Finns to do what they themselves did not want to do.

Also when Yugoslavia decided she did not want the kind of Communism developing in the USSR and broke her alliance with the USSR, the Soviet Government felt bitter about Tito's change, and criticised him severely; but there was no attempt at any aggresive *act* to hold Yugo-Slavia. And when the people of Greece and the people of Persia suffered -- as they are still suffering -- from the control of their governments by imperialist, and practically fascist powers, the USSR, though wishing to help the oppressed Greeks and Persians felt that she must refrain from *any* act which might bring on another war.

The USSR during all the years between 1945 and 1953 not only refrained from all aggressive acts, but during those years -- Stalin being the head of the Government -- it seems to me that the USSR showed that she wished to have friendly relations with the people of all other countries, as the Peace Conference of Stockholm, Warsaw, Vienna, Peking, etc. showed, as did also the Olympiads. I should prefer to face the bar of Heaven as Stalin than as Truman, Dulles, Brownell, Knowland, Eastland, Ridgeway, Radford, Churchill, or Eden; and though I think Beria might receive a severe sentence at that Bar, I do not think it would be a severer sentence than the one Edgar Hoover would receive.

Stalin's supporting of the adulation given him and eventual evident *liking* of it, seems to me the most serious flaw in his character; but: "The wisest of the wise listen to pretty lies and love to hear them told; I doubt not that Solomon listened to many a one. Some when he was young, but more when he grew old." And yet that is a great pity. Isn't it? If one enjoys listening to excessive praise without sincere protest one soon enjoys listening to flattery, doesn't one? Then one loses one's critical sense of one's own value, and the flatterers become necessary to one's happiness, and soon their influence may become control, in so far as their being able to persuade the flattered that it is right that he should do what they wish done. I think the flatterers of Stalin persuaded him to believe, for instance, that in order to convince visitors to the USSR, as well as the invited guests to the banquets in the palace-like embassies in London, Washington, Paris, etc. that the Marxist economic system was working extremely well, it was necessary that the hotels in Moscow should out-Ritz the Ritzes in the capitalist capitals of the world, and that the supply of Vodka and champagne and all costly wines and food at the banquets should be superlatively lavish, and that the wives of the Soviet ambassadors should ~~be superlatively lavish, and that~~ wear expensive fur and jewels. But though it was during Stalin's time that this ~~l~~lavishness began to appear (it could not have been earlier)it does not seem to have been changed by Molotof and Krushchev at the banquet they gave in London at the Soviet Embassy. Yet does not this produce cynicism in those one wants to convince? Lenin's simplicity, his refusal to accept adulation, his even impatience at applause, seems to me much more convincing. The splendid subway stations and many other buildings of which the materials are not only substantial, but costly, because costly materials happened to add to the beauty -- are justifiable, for they are for all the people, like the cathedrals of the mediaeval cities. But it does not seem to me that lavish expenditure of the people's money on champagne and caviar for the favored few -- whether diplomats or visitors or guests of Soviet diplomats in foreign capitals -- is what Lenin would think just -- or wise.

But after all this desire for "face," this desire to be ostentatiously lavish when entertaining is not a fault of Stalin's alone; and I think the good he did during the more than a quarter of a century he was Captain of the Ship, far, far outweighed the harm. If the present heads of the Soviet Government

40154/67

should now do to Stalin what he -- with far greater excuse -- did to Trotsky; -- try to prove that he was altogether a disadvantage to the Soviet Civilisation, if they should try to change the name of Stalingrad, I should be in despair. I should like the Communist Party of Russia -- of the USSR -- to have the body of Trotsky brought back to Moscow and have the three lie together in peace -- with the gratitude of the Soviet people given to all three. If such a spirit should prevail there would be hope that the next steps in the effort to achieve complete communism in the USSR might mean working for the goal of Lenin while using the methods of Gandhi.

I hope with the uttermost fervor that Molotov and Krushchev will be able to bring about friendly relations between the people of the countries of the Communist East and the People of the countries of the Capitalist West, so that the danger of the "Cold War's" becoming a Hot War will be over, that communication between the citizens of the Communist countries and citizens of the Capitalist countries may be more frequent and freer, that the scientists, the artists, those interested in agriculture, technicians, teachers in schools and universities, mining engineers -- and Miners of each part of the world may visit those of like interests in other parts, without any obstacles being put in their way. But I confess I am a little -- more than a little -- apprehensive when I think of members of the Governments of the Communist world becoming intimate with members of the Governments of the Capitalist, Imperialist, Racial-Prejudiced world. The Big Business chiefs and the military chiefs who control the governments are very gifted in subtle undermining of the characters of those whose theories of goverment clash with theirs. I think Morrow was not a little responsible for the collapse of the Mexican Revolution; and though I am now inclined to think that Chiang was probably inherently corrupt; yet certainly at the beginning of his career, when he was under the influence of Sun Yat-sen, he seemed to be,

40/5H/68

and perhaps really was for the time being -- sincerely socialist (many of those around him certainly were) but when he came into closer contact with the Government officials of the Capitalist West -- and their agents -- his loyalty to Sun Yat-sen and to the Chinese people vanished.

I am confess I am more than a little afraid of too great intimacy between the heads of the Capitalist countries and the heads of the Communist countries; and I am much more than a little fearful that the present heads of the USSR and the Communist Party in Russia are not trustworthy in so far as their loyalty to their country, to their Party and to the cause of Socialism is concerned. i.e., I am afraid they may not be loyal to the Revolution. I hope this fearfulness will not be justified. But I have it.

Stalin was no Robespierre and no St. Just. The atmosphere of Moscow in 1950-53, or the atmosphere in Leningrad, in Kiev, in Tashkent, in Vladivostok, was not that of Paris in 1793. While Stalin was in power in 1950-53 there was no "procession of tumbrils carrying the condemned to the foot of a guillotine, where it was as much as five executioners could do to empty them every day."* In order to free some who were unjustly imprisoned was the step of guillotining Stalin's character necessary? Was it necessary to guillotine the character of one who was dead and could not defend himself in order to have friendlier relations with the West and to promote Peace?

Note added June 13, 1956:

Is not the real danger today in the USSR that of a reactionary swing to the "Right" -- a "Counter Revolution"? a "Directoire"? At any rate Kruschev seems busy getting rid of his associates in power if they disagree with him.

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* Kropotkin, "The Great French Revolution"

40/54169

He has actually executed only Beria; but he has become more the head of a "One Man," an "Individualist" Government by removing Malenkov, and then Molotov when they disagreed with him.

And where are the proofs of all his accusations against Stalin? I have, I confess, less sympathy for Beria than for the others removed. It is impossible for the head of a spy system to be truthful, since all his work depends on lying, on training his subordinates to snoop and to pretend to be loyal to those they are betraying. But it is probable that it was not simply because he was the head of the spy system that Beria was removed. It is possible that Beria had in his files data which could disprove some of the stories Kruschev was telling (planning to tell, for he was only planning to tell, when Beria was executed) with Stalin and Beria both dead, unable to refute accusations, it was easier for Kruschev to proceed to the guillotining of Stalin's character.

Sir Christopher Wrenn, the architect of St. Paul's in London, has no monument. He is buried directly under the dome of the cathedral. On the slab above the grave are these words: "If you seek my monument -- look around you!" It seems to me that Stalin's might be the same. "If you seek my monument, look around you."

As I have said above: if one regards the conditions of the USSR on the day of Stalin's death and contrasts it with the condition of the USSR in 1925-26 when Stalin was first really at the helm, was first the architect of the plan and in charge of construction, one cannot but see that in spite of Stalin's many faults and his many regrettable deeds he has a monument of such grandeur that history has given monuments of comparable grandeur to few of her architects.

July 8, 1956

Miss Anna Graves
c/o Miss Dora Jaufroid
921 Jahncke avenue,
Covington, La.

My dear Miss Graves:

I think your letter to Anna Louise Strong was very, very fine. I and Shirley have read it with great interest, and I thank you for sending it. I have had it copied and I wonder if you would mind if I sent it to the editor of the Guardian and perhaps to the Worker. It may be late for news value, and there has been so much debate that the editors may think enough has been said, but nevertheless I would like them to read it.

Personally I agree with you almost completely. As I wrote to an editor not long ago, I still regard Stalin as one of the great men of the twentieth century. He was not perfect; he was probably too cruel; but he did three things: he established the first socialist state in the modern world; he broke the power of the kulaks; and he conquered Hitler. If in his later years he became an irresponsible tyrant, that was very bad and I am sorry for it. But he was not the first tyrant in the world and will not be the last. Moreover, I am not at all satisfied with Kruschev's testimony. It seems to me irresponsible and muddled. He lumps together Stalin's fight against Trotsky and the various victims of the great purge. From the testimony which I read at the time, I believe that justice was done to these men on the whole. In the critical struggle then going on, some innocent men might have suffered, but as to the general fairness of these trials, even reliable American observers like Raymond Robbins testified.

27-17A-78

As to the war against Hitler, it is pure poppycock, to assert that Stalin was not fully aware of the menace of Germany, and that any preparation on his part could have stopped the Wehrmacht any sooner than it did. That the victory over Hitler was due entirely to Stalin I of course doubt, and he, or, what is more likely, his friends, later boasted of the victory too much and gave him too much credit. Nevertheless, it remains true that under Stalin's rule Hitler was stopped and turned back, and for this the whole world is Stalin's debtor.

As to what happened in later years, and what the role of Beria was, I do not know and have no present way of finding out. It may have been quite as bad as Kruschev is reported to have testified, but the facts are not before me.

On the other hand, I am not in the least cast down. The Soviet state is great and progressing, and the beginnings of natural democratic argument and disagreement are encouraging. Not even the upheaval in Poland disturbs me. I saw Poland in 1893 and in 1950. Its progress, contentment, and peace is unquestionable. Of course the old landlord and military clan bribed by the United States is going to make trouble for a long time to come.

I trust this will find you and Miss Jaufroid in good health. The quotation: "It is the stars," and so forth, is taken from a poem by my fellow student William Vaughan Moody. I am not sure about the name of the poem but I think it is "The Fire-bringers."

With love from Shirley and myself, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W.E.B. Du BOIS

27-17A-79

921 Jahncke Ave. Covington, Louisiana
17 / VII / 1956

Grams

Drar Anna Louise,

I cannot help writing at once to you to thank you for your article in "The Monthly Review" - not especially because I was gratified because you thought what I wrote good, but for your whole article and the spirit in which it was written. I think nearly everything else in this number of the magazine was appalling whenever Stalin was touched. You - the only writer who had suffered from Stalin, the only one who had lived long in the USSR, the only one who had intimate friends suffer because of policies of the regime, you, almost alone, were not vituperative. I think it was absolutely incomprehensible that Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy should have said what they did about Stalin: for instance their saying in the note on page 70: "Nor does the allegation that all this was the work of Beria put a better face on the affair. No regime can escape responsibility for the dirty work of its secret police." (my italics) How about Truman and Eisenhower escaping responsibility for the dirty work of Hoover's FBI employing lying informers and coaching them in order to kill the Rosenbergs and imprison Sobell? I think Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy's calling Stalin's methods "sub-human" **was outrageous**, since they implied that that epithet applied especially to Stalin's methods. Of course we all (at any rate you and I and Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy) believe that violent means are regrettable, certainly that cruel means are regrettable, deplorable; but ~~a~~ no citizen, of the country responsible for Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for Mississippi and Edgar Hoover has ~~no~~ the right to call another regime "sub-human" in its use of methods without acknowledging the "sub-human" methods in use in their own country, especially when they happen to be citizens of ~~a~~ that country which is responsible for Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Mississippi, Eastland, Edgar Hoover, Knowland, and really responsible for Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee; but very particularly especially when the regime whose methods they call "sub-human" had done more to raise the state of the Human Family (the Human Race as a whole) than their own country had ever done, or for that matter, more than any other country had ever done, though China is doing it now. Khrushchev has only asserted things. Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy asserted that Stalin's regime was"an oriental despotism"characterized by "murder, mendacity, duplicity, brutality and arbitrariness" How do we know that the stories Khrushchev told are true? Stalin was condemned by Khrushchev as Judge without a trial. There was Prosecution, but no Defense. I think there should be a "Defense Committee" to test the reliability of Khrushchev's stories on which the sentence without a trial is based. Because the Rosenbergs are dead has not stopped the effort to prove that they did not deserve their sentence. I do not think, as you know, that Stalin was faultless, that he was guiltless, far from it.

42-16-58

but I think his doing of good so far outweighed his doing of bad that he should be defended when he is traduced and mud is thrown on him, and the people - most of them - collected by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy have helped in the mud-throwing and traducing, and they - L.H. and P.S. themselves have helped in it. I am surprised at their attitude. I do not know Paul Sweezy, but I do know Leo Huberman and have always admired him; but I cannot understand his attitude as shown in his and Paul Sweezy's opening article whenever Stalin is touched upon. I hope it is not because Leo Huberman cannot get away from feeling that he is a Jew. Evidently, it seems to me, Kunitz is judging the situation not objectively as a Human Being, but as a Jew. I did not like all that Katerina Furtseva said when rereading what she said in the National Guardian. I did not like her saying that all this traducing and mud-throwing was necessary in order to change a policy; but it seemed to me what she said about the Jewish question was very comprehensible. She said that in the orchestra which played at the welcoming of Tito 80% were Jews; but she added that when there seemed to be an over abundance of Jews in any group - when, for instance there were more than 50%, some of the Jews were removed and given just as good positions in other groups where the proportion of Jews was not so great. That, it seems to me, is really protecting the Jews; for when they monopolize positions (as they often do tend to do when they once get into a group) it is then impossible to prevent the birth of and growth of anti-Semitism. Here in New Orleans where there seems to be comparatively little anti-Semitism, they are, I am told, allowed at some of the Mardi Gras Carnival balls, but are not allowed on the Carnival Management Committee. It does not seem to me that when there are at most not much more than three million Jews in the Soviet Union, and there are one hundred and fifty million, and probably more, non Jews that the Jews have a grievance when their number in official groups is restricted only to "not more than 50%; if it is so restricted, when they are less than 3% of the population. I do not think, of course, that their number should be restricted to 3% , or even to 10% , or even to 20%. They have too much to contribute. But it seems to me that when it is restricted to only to "not more than 50% " that they have any right to think they have a grievance; but Kunitz seems to think, as do also some of the letter-writers to the Guardian, that any apportioning is a grievance. What do you think?

42-16-59

The case of the Yiddish cultural leaders seems pretty bad. Did you know any of them? I think, though, that that, too, should be further investigat before all the blame and no justification should be awarded to Stalin persona ly.

Then it seems to me strange that those who excuse, or at any rate think explicable and relatively excusable the use of violence in the establishing of industry and the collectivization of agriculture and in the early years of the USSR when there were constant invasions by the "White Russians" (Dennikin, Kolchak, Wrangel etc.) helped by England, France and America) those who say that the use of violence in dealing with possible spies and saboteurs was explicable and excusable then now say that after the end of World War II it was quite inexcusable - inexplicable - insane. But was it? It seems to me that the period after World War II - the period of "The Cold War", of the Korean War has been one of explicable tension and fear in the USSR. The USA began at once to build(and to stock with atomic bombs) bases in every country bordering the socialist world. The USSR and its allies were completely surrounded; and the USA avowed its determination to overthrow the socialist governments in the countries which had become allies of the USSR, voting millions and millions for just that purpose. There were, and still are, continual insults and threats. Korea borders on Siberia and China. The USSR knew that the Korean War was primarily against the USSR and China; and certainly the USA Government did everything it could to make the people believe that "Russia was at the bottom of it". And the Ridgeways and Radfords and all the Pentagon were clamouring for immedaite "Preventive War". Even if the USSR could have routed another Nazi-like fascist army ~~in 1950~~ like the one it routed in 1941-44, The army attacking it in 1950 would not have been "like" that former one before the day of Hiroshima it had not then been surrounded with bases stocked with atomic bombs; and even if it, too, soon produced the atomic bomb, there was small comfort in knowing that it could destroy half the USA, if it also knew that the USA bases surrounding the USSR meant that the USA could destroy all the USSR. It seems to me that this period certainly makes explicable Stalin's nervous tension, and his fear of possible treason as much as it is explicable in any other period of Soviet history , and certainly more explicable than such tension and fear has ever been in United States history and his acts more excusable than many of those perpetrated by the U.S.A. I think it is more than probable that during his last months, possibly during his last year or two Stalin was suffering from a type of psychoneurosis, and no wonder!

Of course we all hope that excessive violence will not be used as frequently as during periods of extreme tension; but when anyone has shown himself as unethcal as Khrushchev I do not trust him as a leader; for I think it is unethical to damn a man after he is dead and cannot defend himself, and very repulsive. And certainly in order to open prisons and throw down fences around internment camps and dismiss from service most of the OGPU, all this reviling of a man who had done so much good, to whom they all owed the socialist state in which they lived, AND WHOSE POWER TO DO HARM NO LONGER EXISTED, WAS NOT NECESSARY, and this reviling is, it seems to me lacking in integrity and probity, and is, on the contrary - caddish and mean. And I do not like Wright's cartoon in this Monthly Review. In the first place the picture of Stalin is a caracature. But the whole idea seems to me wrong. To be a slave of adulation may indicate that one is a slave, or that one is just silly to adore. But surely to stand up and squirt mud over the memory of a man to whom one owes so much, or to stand up and throw darts at his picture (his memory) as one does, at a target at a fair - is much worse than silliness and indicates that one is certainly a slave of those who demand that one traduce. And what good has all this mud-throwing done? Has the USA Government changed one bit because of it? Changed towards greater trust in the Communists ?

42-16-67

her article came out in the Monthly Review. In this letter to her I thanked her for her article in MR and compared it with all the other articles. I was shocked at a great deal of that number of MR and have told L.H. and P.S. how shocked I was But I do not think they are quite as bad as Jessica Smith, which is a pity for the articles in the "New World Review" which do not devote themselves to mud-throwing on Stalin - the articles on Dhina etc. are so good. But I cannot lend my copies of NWR because of those articles of mud throwing on Stalin

Changing the subject completely. What is the matter with Stone of Stone's Weekly? Has he too thrown over all socialism and all even progressivism?? His saying that the Rosenbergs were guilty and that Sobell should not have another trial and sneering at the wonderful words of Sartre in regard to the Rosenbergs sound as if he gone completely and entirely to the capitalist imperialist FBIist side. I never liked him very much (except in his book "The Hidden History of the Korean War." I wonder if he is going to repudiate that!) My distaste was distaste simply not finding him "symoathique", He was too complacently sure he was worth more than others , but I never thought he would be in favour of that judicial murder or of the practical life burial of Sobell with the kidnapping in Mexico and the whole affair.

Affectionately always to you both

Anna Melissa

Do let me know what you are thinking

U

42-16-61

[Graves]

921 Jahncke Ave., Covington, Louisiana
30 / VII / 1956

My dear friends

I am anxious to hear what you think now of the situation in the USSR and in the world of the Soviet allies in regard to the depreciation of Stalin. Anna Louise, as you probably devined, was quoting from me when she said in her article in the July-August Monthly Review that "an eighty year old Pacifist from Louisiana" said that "she had rather stand before the bar of Heaven as Stalin than as Churchill, Truman, Dulles, Brownell, Knowland, Eastland, Ridgeway, Radford, Or Eden", and as you know if you read her article she quoted other phrases from my letter. Anna Louise and I agree almost entirely; and I cannot say enough of my admiration of her attitude. She alone among those who wrote for that number of MR had personally suffered from the USSR Government under Stalin; she alone had had intimate friends who had suffered, she alone had lived for years in the USSR under Stalin, and she alone among those who mentioned Stalin was not vituperative, she alone did not throw mud . Here are some later letters of mine to her. I had a letter from her yesterday. I should like to make a carbon copy of it, but don't like to before asking her permission. In it though she said a few things I think I can quote: - She said that she wrote the article in M.R. BEFORE the Khrushchev speech hadbeen published, that if she had read it when she wrote the article she would not have said that "all this discussion is a wonderfully good thing" and she now says: "I now think the Khrushchev speech has had an evil effect all over the world In the end it may do good by starting discussion; but in point of fact it does not seem really to have released people to speak their minds, since only those who agree with K. get the chance... and in the meantime it has smeared not only Stalin but the whole history of the Revolution ... so that young idealistic people are throwing everything out of the window and refusing to hear a good word for socialism on the ground that its leaders themselves admit how rotten it all was"

And she goes on to say "When I was in New York I found people splitting badly.. All the good orthodox party people were teaming up behind K -- and rebuking me for being 'soft' on Stalin.... but all the intelligent fellow-travellers took the other view... Gen Yakontoff told me at Corliss Lamont's reception: 'I am madder at K -- than at Stalin.. Stalin may have committed crimes; but he built a great country and a great system; but K-- has smeared all the country and its revolution before the world.. ' I think he was right."

(Who is Gen. Yakontoff? Do you know?)

Here are two carbon copies of letters I wrote to Anna Louise - one as a P.S. to the first letter I wrote her of which I sent you a copy; but I don't think I sent you this PS. and the other letter was written to her after

42-16-62

P.S. to letter written to Anna Louise Strong as well as to letter written to Corliss Lamont - sent after the original - several weeks after and after the July-August issue of Monthly Review

Since beginning this letter (the one to ALS.) I have read in the "National Guardian" it's summary of the summary in "The Times of Khrushchev's speech. I think the gullibility of those who believe such accusations is astonishing. It seems to me that a great deal of what Khrushchev says about Stalin is as unprovable as Edgar Hoover's and Brownell's accusations against the Rosenbergs and Sobell. In the first place it is quite contradictory. If Stalin listened to no one and got out of the way those who dared to differ with him, then it must have been HE who so marvellously defeated the Germans - HE and those He trusted to carry out His commands, those he knew would follow his plans and directions. If, on the other hand those who really did the defeating of the Germans were not carrying out his plans, but their own plans, then Stalin was not the dictator Khrushchev says he was. That the army and the supply of munitions were not in the condition Khrushchev says they should have been (if that statement is true) may have been due to the fact that if Churchill told Stalin that the Germans were going to attack Russia, Stalin did not believe Churchill (who for twenty years had given every proof that consideration for the Bolshevists was not his specialty, and who, it was not unlikely might be anxious to have Stalin spend on munitions rather than on industrialization) And if the army and the supply of munitions were not in the condition Khrushchev said they should have been at the beginning of the war, at any rate they were soon in such condition and the management of the war was so wonderful, that in less than three years the Russians under Stalin were able to defeat the most highly mechanized army in the world - in history - an army which had already driven France to surrender and driven the British troops from Dunkirk back to their island refuge, and had forced Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Norway to surrender to occupancy, as well as Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Poland. It seems to me that Stalin, in defeating that all conquering army did a pretty good job, whether he planned and commanded, or chose able commanders for the field, seeing to it that they did what he thought best - or if he allowed the military commanders to do what they thought best. In the first possibility he certainly showed himself a marvellous cammander-in-chief, and if the second possibility is the fact he proved that he was not such a dictator after all, that he was not one who kept everything in his own hands; so in whichever way Stalin acted during the war he showed that one, at any rate, of the accusations of Khrushchev was false.

I think it is possible that Stalin hoped so that Hitler would keep the non-aggression pact as Stalin himself was keeping it (And he made the

Page 2 of Postscript.

pact because Peace was more important than anything to him, more important than quashing fascism or Naziism in other countries. The French could not forgive that pact with their enemy; but Stalin felt that a pact which might, and he hoped would, prevent the USSR's having to wage a WAR was justifiable) and because of that non-aggression pact, which he hoped would be kept, Stalin may have spent less in 1939-40-41 on araments than on the carrying out of the five year plan he had begun, especially the plans for the industrialization of the lands beyond the Urals, in the development of cooperative and collective agriculture in the lands beyond the Caspian and in Siberia, in the developing of mines, digging canals, planting of forests etc. and in electrification. And if he had not concentrated on those plans the land beyond the Urals would not have been ready to receive the factories brought out to them when the Germans temporarily conquered the Ukraine; nor would the land beyond the Urals the Volga, and the Caspian have been able to produce the food and the raw materials and the products of the mines and factories which made the defeat possible. It may be, one cannot tell, that the victory of the USSR was really due to a great extent to Stalin's concentration during 1939-40-41 on developing the Asiatic section of the Union of Republics, and ~~putting~~ to his holding off the war for two years; and there was no war until the USSR was actually invaded.

His moving ~~several million~~ 600 000 Germans who had lived for several centuries on the left bank of the Volga to a distant place in Siberia did seem ruthless. But they were removed to a fertile spot in Siberia. They were a homogenious German population just across the Volga from the place to which the German army had penetrated. Their removal does not seem to me to compare in injustice or ruthlessness to the US Government's moving of the American citizen, American born, leaning backward in Americanism Japanese to concentration camps in the deserts of Nevada, surrounding them with barbed wire fences. The Japanese armies were not in the United States or anywhere near it - a great ocean away; but the German armies were in the USSR and right across a river from this homogenious group of Germans. If we were panicky about German Fifth Columnists with Germany an ocean away, is it inexplicable that Stalin should have been fearful lest these several ~~millions~~ hundred thousands of Germans might be Fifth Columnists? It seems to me that during the war years Stalin and the Soviet people did a marvellous job (with precious little help from the "Allies") and kept their heads far more than we did - or do.

As to Khrushchev saying that Stalin would have sent all the Ukrainians to Siberia if there had been a place large enough to hold them, it seems me that is asking us to believe something quite evidently not true. Why was there no evidence of Fear in the Ukraine, no evidence that the people were overcome with Fear when so many people went there from Canada, from England and even from the United States

42-16-63

before Dulles stopped Americans from leaving the country if he did not like them)? [illegible] Was there no truth in what the many books and pamphlets told? - Pamphlets such as "We Saw for ourselves", "Where Miners are Honoured" "A Yankee Tool-Maker Abroad", - the book "Just Tell the Truth"? Most of those books and pamphlets told of visits to the Ukraine. What about the great efforts in rebuilding or repairing the beautiful churches in Kiev? in repairing the canals and dams and restoring the electrification in the Ukraine? Did all this show especial animus against the Ukrainians?

I think it is most certainly probably true that in his very last years, worn out with the struggle, having strokes, very likely feeling the disloyalty of Khrushchev, Stalin may have become suspicious and explosive. Henry II of Englan was explosive and did not mean that his words should be taken literally when he said of Thomas à Becket: "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?" Stalin probably said explosive things about the Jews. (He is not the only one who does that, and those who do, though exasperated at the moment are not necessarily anti-Semitic, and may have Jews among their best friends, and believe Einstein and the Rosenbergs among the finest human beings in history)

And it seems to me that it was outrageous for Khrushchev to say that Stalin was especially responsible for the infliction of "torture to extort information." We all know that torture is used in the countries which call themselves "civilized", and most certainly by the government officials of those "civilized" imperialist countries in their colonies. (See S.O.S. Indo-Chine" by Andrée Viollis, or for that matter read in "The New Statesman and Nation" what the British do in the way of torture in Kenya, and the Swiss Red-Cross Report of the tortures inflicted on the North Korean prisoners in Korea by the U.N. chiefly U.S.A. police and jailers, and read of the "Water cure"in the Philippines and what is done by the USA controlled police in Puerto Rico, and what is done at home in the USA, and not only in the Southern prisons where Negroes are beaten to death, but also in the Northern prisons the guards are not "civilized" Read Berkman. And if Eisenhower does not personally order these sadistic beatings, is it not as much his business to know about them and order them stopped as it was Stalin's business to order the tortures stopped in the USSR? And if Edgar Hoover and Bennett do not order the~~m~~ torturer in the USA, who does? And so it seems to me that Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy were most unjust in seeming to infer that the USSR under Stalin was especially what they called "oriental" and less "civilized" than the "occidental" countries: they say: "Stalinism incorporated the methods of oriental despotism - murder, mendacity, duplicity, brutality and above all arbitrariness.", certainly they seem to infer that those characteristics are

42-16-64

those characteristics were especially "oriental" and especially Stalinistic. In so far as murder is concerned are not the imperialist, race-mad "civilized" occidental countries guilty of far more deaths? Ask the people of Hiroshima , or for that matter even look at the murder statistics in any of the states in the USA. One of my own oldest and best friends was murdered as she and a nurse were trying to telephone for the police: she over to and H. nurse living in the house.. And mendacity and duplicity: - Are occidental politicians especially truthful? What about Edgar Hoover and the Rosenberg case? ("The pimp the politician and the pander are gentlemen we cannot slander" and the British writer of the verse goes on to say that of the three the politician - British - is the most impossible to slander.") And as for safety I personally have lived in - not just toured through - China, Syria, the USSR (Khvalinsk on the Volga, Moscow, Azerbaidjan in the Caucasus) and I felt much, much safer if I had to be out after midnight, on the streets of Nanking Moscow and Baku than I feel, or have the right to feel, in any city in the USA, or for that matter in some parts of Paris or London. I am sure that the people now living in Algeria are far more in danger of losing their lives and are more brutally treated than their ancestors were under the "oriental regimes" of the Ommeyades, Almoravides and Almohades. Contrast the occidentally controlled Persia, Cyprus and Greece with Soviet Azerbaidjan under Stalin. Mrs. Joan Robinson (Lecturer in Economics at Cambridge University) and Joseph Starobin were both in Moscow the summer of 1952. Read the parographs in Starobin's book "Paris to Peking" on pages 89-92, beginning "There is a calm about Moscow" down through the quotation from Laski. Read all of Mrs. Robinson's pamphlet "Conference Sketbhbook" (Mrs. Robinson is not a Marxist, but a follower of Ricardo and was a colleague of Keynes) In July 1952 Stalin was still living and in power, yet both these trained observers especially noted exactly the opposite of a regime characterized by "murder, mendacity, duplicity, brutality and arbitrariness".

At any rate I do not trust Khrushchev, or respect the Communists who are willing to join him in traducing their old Chief. I do not doubt that the time had come for a change in policy, a change as regards a less personal, less individual direction of Government; but a Change, not a throwing of mud on past policies in past times and certainly not a traducing of those who used them, believing they were then necessary. But I am not sure that the past policy of personalism, individualism in Government is being changed in principle., that it it is being renounced by Khrushchev. Beria probably deserved being removed, and in a country which has not yet renounced capital punishment, probably deserved execution. But what about Malenkov and Molotov? Is it not possible that they resigned because they could not "go along with" Khrushchev, and thought it wiser

42-16-65

42-16-66

to remove themselves from their positions in the Government (not being "Able to go along with Khrushchev" evidently meant not being really "in the Government" so they resigned, or were ordered to resign. Is the change in Government then not a Government less personal, but a change only of the person?

But even if there has been a change in so far as a diminishing degree of personalism is concerned - to make that change it surely was not necessary to "tell tales" - to wash a dead man's linen in public. The linen of the dying is not infrequently stained, but that is not typical of the dying man's linen when not ill. It seems to me that the hope of the Soviet Government's not becoming a "Directoire" is the Communist Party's insistence on Khrushchev's retracting the unjust things he said. I am glad that Ekaterina Furtseva has denied that the Jews were discriminated against, and it seems to me her explanation of some Jews being removed from positions where there were 50% of Jews to other positions where the proportion was not so great, but the position itself as good, shows that care is being taken to prevent anti-Semitism, for when Jews begin to monopolize places anti-Semitism is apt to grow. I hope that a great number of Khrushchev's statements can be denied as his statement that Stalin would have liked to send all the Jews to the North somewhere; and I hope the Jews will help to sweep away these unjust accusations of Khrushchev's.

Ingratitude and tale-bearing are two not very admirable traits. It seems to me that everyone would be happier in the USSR if Khrushchev voluntarily stepped down and someone less ungrateful and someone less addicted to tale-bearing were elected Secretary of the Communist Party.

I think, too, everyone should remember the terrific psychological strain Stalin was under all his last years. The moment the war was over, really before the end his Western so called allies deserted him. The USSR was soon surrounded by bases with stock of nuclear bombs and thousands of soldiers. Bases threatening the country he had built up and was struggling so hard to rebuild, bases on every side. Iceland, Greenland, Alaska, Japan, the coastal islands of Asia, especially Formosa, Korea Thailand, Pakistan, Iraq, Persia, Turkey, Greece, Arabia, North Africa and I have left out some.* The USA was trying to help those who wished to overthrow his Government and deliberately threatening his allies the countries in Europe which had become Socialist. And he did not know whom he could trust. He probably knew he could not trust Khrushchev. That he should have accepted adulation was too bad, but he deserved recognition and not defamation.

I am not a Communist, and never could be, for I still believe that the non-violent way is the better way in the long run; but then I cannot belong to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party or approvers of the U.S. Government for the same reason and I think the violence which they have promoted is greater than the violence which the Communist Party has promoted, so I belong to no Party. But I think the Communist Party under Stalin since the end of World War II has tried its best to keep the Peace. It has stood insult - anything to keep the Peace. So, in spite of its sometimes very regrettable violence at home, I think on the whole it is responsible for far fewer deaths than the so called "Free World".

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* Bases also in Italy, Spain, Portugal France Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden. The USSR is completely surrounded .

921 Jahncke Ave., Covington, Louisiana
October 8, 1956

My dear friends,

It has been a long time since I have heard from you. Did you get the later papers I wrote copies of which I sent you - always as letters to Anna Louise Strong - on the controversy in Russia? You probably saw in "The Monthly Review" that she quoted me as "an 80 year old Pacifist from Louisiana". I like her article better than any other in the Review. I did not like Leo Huberman's and Paul Sweezy's at all. Did you? Perhaps I was too severe on them, but I ~~di~~ did not think that a citizen of the USA had the right to call the Stalinist Government the names the editors of "The Monthly Review" called it. I was surprised. I have never met Paul Sweezy, but I have seen a little of Leo Huberman and liked and admired him. Anna Louise wrote me about being at a party or banquet Corliss Lamont gave; and told me that someone had said: "I am madder at Khrushchev than I am at Stalin. Stalin may have committed some crimes, but Khrushchev has smeared the whole ~~Party~~ Revolution and the whole country." * see margin

Here is a copy of what James Aronson said when he returned my paper of which you had sent him a copy, and here is also a copy of a letter from Rhys Williams. It was enclosed in a letter from his wife. I knew them in Moscow. When I was down at the Children's colony ~~at~~ Cheramshan near Khavalinsk on the Volga, I loved the place and the children, especially the Volga. (Anna Louise got me the job) That was the winter of 1924-25. I left the colony in May 1925. The next year Rhys and his wife went down and took my room. Then the winter of 26-27 ~~th~~ they were in Moscow. I was teaching in Moscow the seasons of 1925-26 & 1926-27

My hostess Dora Jaufroid is in New York now at a sanitarium at a place called Spring Valley, New York. She is supposed to have a cancer. She is a darling person, but a fanatic in many unaccountable ways. She refuses to be vaccinated, and gave up a very interesting place as supervisor of the teaching of Art in the public schools of New Orleans, resigning rather than submit to vaccination. Her cancer is in her breast, and though one of her very best friends had a very successful operation for cancer in the breast fourteen years ago and there has never been any return Dora still refuses, because she believes cancer can be cured by diet, but also because for some strange reason she believes operations are wrong. She is quite mad about diet and vegetarianism. This Doctor Alice Chase claims she can cure cancer through diet, and Dora is at Dr. Chase's sanitarium. All her friends are very anxious, naturally. She is nearly 76. I do not believe the Doctor is a charlatan, but is herself a mad fanatic.

She Dora is without any colour prejudice at all, but is not very, very concerned about the terrible situation in the South, which, of course I am. I have

* I haven't Anna Louise's letter by me. That was about what she said the other person said - a general [illegible] - but may not be an exact quotation

41-16-78

joined the Southern Conference Educational Fund; but their work is in New Orleans. I have been in only three times, for the fare to New Orleans and back is nearly $3.00 and so I can't go in often. I must confess although I have made a few friends I don't feel that the magnolias and the mocking birds make up for the unfree atmosphere and I long for France! (Rather for China!) I have tried to find colored people who could realy give me an insight into the situation, and who would not be afraid to talk, so far I haven't found any in Covington. I have found very dear ones, but they are Seventh Day Adventists and believe that "God will make it all right". One whom I asked to tea knew a remarkable amount of the Bible by heart; but she didn't want to talk about social or political questions. Louisiana is not Mississippi or Geogia or Alabama in so far as having an Eastland or Talmadge is concerned, but also there does not seem to be here - in Covington at any rate - a group as brave in protesting as the groups in Alabama and now Florida. Although the French descendants here are without the extreme racial prejudice which the descendants of the purer Anglo-Saxons have, they are - most of them descendants of French who came over before the French Revolution, and never knew the Revolution. And almost all are unreconstructed Catholics. I think New Orleans might be very interesting; but a little county town this one at any rate has very few who are trying to think, and who dare to think out loud

I have been afraid, dear Dr. Du Bois that perhaps you were not well and that this past very hot summer had not been good for you. I hope you two went to some cool and interesting place

Affectionately with much love to you both

Anna Melissa Graves

921 Jahncke Ave. Covington, Louisiana
October 20, 1956

Graves

42-16-70

My very dear Shirley,

I am so sorry, not only for your pain and trouble, but for the nerve strain on your "Elder Statesman", who after all must be feeling his years enough to make "nerve strains" not as easy to throw off as if he were a score of years younger. But at any rate he still has you and the waves might have behaved much worse ~~if~~might even have carried you off - so I am sure thankfulness because what might have happened - didn't,is his strongest feeling. Oh! I do hope he - and you - can get to China. But if he says what he will find it very difficult not to say about America while there, and says what he will feel he must about China when he gets back he may have the fate of the Powells. I think I have told you about my being refused a passport in the autumn of 1941 - before the USA entered the war. I was asked by Mrs. Shipley if I would give my word of honour that I would say nothing derogatory about the US. Government while out of the country. (I was applying for a passport for Chile and said I wanted to give lessons in English and that that had been my profession during many years.) I, of course, refused to give any such promise. I said I did not expect to lecture from a platform and I would refuse to be interviewed, but if in private conversation something was said about acts of the US Government which I thought reprehensible, I would not have anyone with whom I was conversing think that I thought such acts not reprehensible. She said that I could have a passport for the British West Indies or for Australia, but not for Latin America. (Evidently the State Department thought that the British possessions were immune to anythings I might say!) I said that I couldn't give English lessons to English speaking people. and if I could not give lessons I could not afford to go Mrs. Shipley said: "It is very important that Latin America should hear only good about the US Government." and I was refused the passport. She gave me one without asking any such promise - when I went to France in 1953. But I doubt if her successor would give me one for China today. However there is always hope that sense and decency may arrive in our Government - some day/ May there be som some of that sense and decency when you two apply. Pearl Buck was asked by the Peking Government to come on an anniversary celebration of Walt Whitman. She did not ask for the passport. She said, however that her husband was too frail for her to leave him; but she added: "Also I understand that passports are not given for China, so I could not have gone any way."

But there are many surprises and inconsistencies in our Passport decisi given

It is incomprehensible why some are refused passports and one is surprised sometimes that others are granted the right to travel, others one might have thought would be refused.

We are having a rather anxious time here. My friend Dora Jaufroid, though we are very congenial in many, many ways, is an incomprehensible faddist about ~~health~~ health measures. She absolutely refuses to be vaccinated, not only because she thinks the animals supplying the vaccine should not be made to suffer, but also because she thinks that putting poison into one is pernicious - wicked. She was supervisor of the teaching of Art in the New Orleans Public schools for fifteen years and refusing to be vaccinated lost her job in 1924. Now she thinks she has a cancer. But no one knows, for she not only refuses to be operated on but refuses to have the incision in order that the tissue may be examined to see if there is malignancy or not. She believes that diet can do anything and everything. Unfortunately she has been corresponding for some years with a Dr. Alice Chase of Spring Valley New York, a "neutritionist;" and Dr. Alice Chase says she can cure malignant cancers by diet. So Dora has gone to Spring Valley for Dr. Chase's treatment. Unless the cancer is really malignant and too far gone to hope for any cure we shall never know whether it was malignant or not. If she comes back well she will think Dr. Chase realy cured her and her friends here - including myself - will think she never had a cancer - but only some non-malignant trouble. We are all anxious, but all hoping that the non-malignancy will be the news.

I am not unapprehensive of the future in the USA. The candidates are Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee in regard to the vital issues. Aren't they? Stevenson does say that hydrogen bomb tests should stop, but that is the only good thing he says. Eisenhower-Nixon do not even say that - and they mean a continuation of Dulles!! and Brownell

Very affectionately to you both

Melissa

[fragment]

41-16-81

of others and can be happy and are personally gentle and kind. There are also many who do try by giving to "Care" and other agencies of charity, giving often with great self-sacrifice to individuals and causes whose need they know, thus showing that the sufferings of others are distressing and harrowing to them.

But is not the "American Way if Life" the most reactionary in the world today, except that of the colonials in the British and French colonies? And the "Way of Life" among the colonials in those colonies could not be so reactionary, nor could it be so in Spain, West Germany, Greece, Turkey etc., but for USA backing.

Frankly I am afraid to have the Russians come here - for their sake. Evil companionship corrupts good manners - certainly shaky manners.

Do you know Clough's "The Modern Decalogue"?

" 'Thou shalt have one God only.' - Who would be at the expense of two?
'No graven image may be Worshiped' except the currency."

And when he comes to "Thou shalt not kill" the modern version is: -
" But needst not strive officiously to keep alive."

I think that Stalin was responsible for more deaths than one likes to think of (in his dealing with the Kulaks and in the purges) but he was also responsible for the saving of many lives. It seems to me that when one thinks of the care of the lives of the miners, of labor in general, of the watching over the health of the Soviet people, of giving employment to all, of making possible the production of more food, of more equitable distribution of it, Stalin was both officially and - one may say -"officiously," zealously "striving to keep alive," and that his imperialist, capitalist contemporary followers of the "American way of life" are responsible for more deaths than he ever was. Even some Quakers do not "strive officiously to keep alive" when they own, as I know one who does, mines in Harlan County West Virginia; and the only hope of American Indians' being saved from extinction is a crossing of the Straits into Siberia.

Do let me hear what you are thinking of this situation.
Cordially yours.

Anna Melissa Graves

600 W. 113 St. N.Y.C. 25. June 29, 1956

[Greenfield]

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Your article in June 25's issue of the "Guardian" telling us to "clean out the Congress," certainly inspires us to get to that important job immediately with all we've got, but I think that we, progressives, can do something further now to build a new, great and powerful party for "the 1958 election." My idea is that all of us. and all of the others who also hate what our present administration is doing, including the millions who don't even register to vote because of their contempt for the political rottenness that exists and the futility of voting for "Tweedle Dumb and Tweedle Dee," for all of us to choose one write-in candidate for president now to rally around coming election day. By so doing, we can use our vote fully and have the satisfaction of registering our united, strong protest against "Tweedle Dumb and Tweedle Dee" and all their evil works. Even if we do not win the election this time, we will have aroused the sleeping ones and motivated

42-2A-6

(2) our formerly active ones, and given new hope and direction to all of us who feel today that we are really disenfranchised as far as voting for those we want, is concerned.

The dynamic, new, little weekly "Action for Human Welfare," edited by Ray S. Kellogg and Juliane Carra of Norwalk, Ohio and Pittsburgh, Pa, is spearheading this campaign for reaching now all who are working for human betterment and welfare and who are interested in decent government and in building a new party to accomplish our aim. I'm enclosing a copy of May's 1956 Special Supplement to "Action" to give you an idea of its dynamic quality in case you haven't yet heard of this paper. I'm also enclosing a copy of a plan I wrote four years ago for spreading the Natural Living Movement faster and to aim for a National Welfare Party to achieve our goal. I sent a copy of my plan to "Action" when I first received that paper and they invited me to join their staff for greater achievement. I haven't as yet joined the staff but I am helping now in every other way

[3]

42-2A-7

I can.

What do you think of my idea that everyone of us should now choose a write-in presidential & vice pres. candidate around whom we can all rally and collect our scattered forces? Our immediate problem is to reach all organizations and individuals of our thinking and feeling, as soon as possible, and get them to send in their choices and from those we will choose the two receiving the greatest number of votes. For this election it won't matter much who is written in by us as long as we all write in the same names. But what will matter *very much is* that we will have succeeded in gathering and activating our scattered forces into *one* force that will grow mightier each day as we all work together guided by "Action" the "Guardian" and all other dynamic progressive papers and magazines we can reach very soon. Don't you think this a good idea and we should all work on together from now on?

If we all get to work on "Cleaning out the Congress" now and on collecting our scattered and inactive forces now for this write-in presidential campaign, don't you think that we will be using

[4]

our franchise to the fullest and doing our duty as it should be done by those who care about their fellow-men and want for them their greatest good?

Please let me hear from you as soon as possible because I wrote to Mr. Kellogg and to Juliane Carra that I'm writing to you for your advise in this matter, and for your help in any way you can give it to us now to get this campaign launched. I hope you view this favorably and that you will help us do our most for this cause and for our common goal of Peace, Good Health and Brotherhood on Earth.

Fraternally yours,
(Mrs.) Minnie L. Granfield

You know me very well by sight but probably not by name. I was so happy to see you again as you came in to the recent meeting at the Pythian where Anna Louise Strong spoke. Also was delighted with your part in the Open Forum at Carnegie Hall recently. I'm always deeply grateful for the great privilege of being your contemporary and working together with you for the same goals!

June 8, 1956

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Mass.

42-2A-162a

My dear Emma:

I had thought that perhaps I might be coming to a class reunion at Harvard this spring, but it seems the reunions have been called off since the death of our secretary, Barnes. There are only 34 of us left now, and we probably will not come together again.

I have meant, of course, to write and ask how you are, and how the family is getting on. Please let me know. I have kept in pretty good health. I took a trip to California in April and gave six lectures. Shirley went along with me. We had a very pleasant time. Recently I spoke at Carnegie Hall and I have one or two lectures and some articles which I am going to attend to.

A book of mine on Benjamin Franklin has been written and translated into French. That will appear within a month or so. My masterpiece, the trilogy, of which I think I have written you, is being considered by an American publisher, but I am not too hopeful.

Let me hear from you at your convenience. My love to you and all of yours.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

[Groves] June 24, 1956

Dear Doctor:-

I enjoyed your letter so very much. You are certainly the "great American traveler". That's right. Go it while you are young. After my experience with doctors and hospitals last summer, I find I have no desire to leave home this summer. Edith, of course, wants to go, so is putting pressure on me. Thus far I've resisted. Margie is just ending a week of her vacation. She, Elizabeth and I went by boat to Nantasket Friday. It was good to get in the ocean again. Margie has been transferred to the Codman Square library, so she is quite near home. Elizabeth passed to the 6th. grade and is happy over vacation time. Alice is expecting her baby the first of July and Mason is hoping for a girl this time. He put together some sort of computing machine that saves time on figuring. The head men seemed please with it and it is in use in the laboratory. It doesn't mean any money to him but it helps to make his job more secure since that is the sort of work he is being paid for. The rest of the family are well. Give my love to Shirley

Emma -

42-2A-161

27-20-1

11, QUAI AUX FLEURS
PARIS 4e
ODÉON 46-01

PARIS, LE 28 novembre 1956

Dr. W.E.Burghardt DuBois
c/o MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832, Broadway
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.
(U.S.A.)

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I thank you so much for your two books which I am reading with a great interest.

I am only sorry that the refusal of the State Department to grant me a new visa since 1949 as prevented me from meeting you again.

Your faithful Admirer

Daniel Guérin
Daniel GUERIN

42-2A-14

March 1, 1956

Mrs. Vivian Hallinan
Ross, California

Dear Vivian:

Our love to you and Vincent and the usual apologies for being late in answering your Christmas greeting. We had hoped to see you long before this. However, at least we have a lecture trip in California for April. I shall be at Fritchman's church on the 6th, and in three surrounding towns on the 4th, 8th, and 10th. I expect to talk at the Labor School in San Francisco on the 13th, and we shall want to see you and the family about that time. Shirley will write you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du BOIS

[Hammond Mem.
Scholarship Fund]

ADA M. HAMMOND MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND

April 4, 1956

Address of Secretary
Weasel Drift Road
Little Falls, N. J.

Dr. & Mrs. W. E. DuBois
Chapman-Park Hotel
3405 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

41-1046

The enclosed is self-explanatory.

My writing you will also confirm a pleasant telephone conversation with Mrs. DuBois a few days ago, at which time I related to her my desire to make contact with you personally. As you already know Mrs. Brall's present physical condition, I need not make further mention of that, other than to tell you that we are very eager to make this occasion an outstanding one for her. To that end we are attempting to make contact with the distinguished leaders, whose sculptured portraits comprise the exhibit, informing them of our plans. May we have the honor of your presence on the afternoon of the 22nd, at the Alexander Hamilton Hotel, Church Street, Paterson.

We look forward to greeting you on an occasion which may be fittingly described as - the highlight in cultural relations in our community.

Cordially yours,
Helen H. Foster
Helen H. Foster (Mrs. C.A.)
Secretary, Board of Governors
ADA M. HAMMOND MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Wendell J. Williams, Chairman

The purpose of this Fund is to provide annual scholarships for Negro boys or girls, graduating from the Central High School, the Eastside High School or the Vocational and Industrial High School, (Paterson, New Jersey) and adjudged by the Board of Governors as the most worthy of the graduates of such High Schools . . . .

The Governors take pleasure in extending you this opportunity to personally greet Mrs. Brall, who will be in the reception line.

Guests from the United Nations, including the distinguished leaders represented in Mrs. Brall's collection are expected.

* * * * *

..."The sensitiveness, respect and understanding with which Ruth Brall has modeled these truly beautiful heads and faces, will add much to her already well established artistic reputation. These qualities add Mrs. Brall herself to the company of those who "continue to weld the links of human relationship."

THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS
OF
THE ADA M. HAMMOND MEMORIAL
SCHOLARSHIP FUND
invite you to an
EXHIBITION OF SCULPTURED PORTRAITS
OF
DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN NEGROES
by
RUTH BRALL
at the Alexander Hamilton Hotel,
Church Street
Paterson, New Jersey
Sunday, April 22, 1956 - 4 - 7 p.m.

Benefit of the Scholarship Fund

[Hammond Memorial Scholarship Fund]

The purpose of the Fund is to provide Annual Scholarships for Negro boys or girls graduating from the Central High School, the Eastside High School, or the Vocational and Industrial High School. In considering an applicant's eligibility for a scholarship award, character and financial need, as well as scholastic achievement shall be determining factors.

Fourteen awards have been made to worthy graduates of the local (Paterson, N. J.) high schools. Among the colleges the graduates are attending are: Paterson State Teachers College, Howard University, Hampton Institute, New York School of Music, Upsala College and Trenton State Teachers College.

THE ADA M. HAMMOND MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND was established in May 1946 by Mrs. Carril A. Foster daughter of Mrs. Ada M. Hammond

Carnie P. Bragg
Chairman Scholarship Committee

Wendell J. Williams
Chairman Board of Governors

Joseph F. Manley
Treasurer

Mrs. Carril A. Foster
Secretary

Weasel Drift Road
Little Falls, New Jersey

Board of Governors

Carnie P. Bragg
Mrs. Isaac Brawer
Miss Margaret M. Brophy
A. Duryee Crooks
Mrs. Carril A. Foster
Joseph A. Hausman
Rabbi Reuben Kaufman
Joseph F. Manley
Dr. A. D. Maxwell
Miss Alice M. Meeker
Mrs. Mary Schencks
Wendell J. Williams
Mrs. Victor Young

(The late Bishop James Clair Taylor was one of the original governors)

41-104-9

ABOUT THE ARTIST

New York born, Ruth Brall is a member of the Allied Artists of America, The Pen and Brush, The Artists Equity, The Painters and Sculptors Society of New Jersey, and American Artists Professional League.

Her work has been exhibited in the National Academy; Whitney Museum; Swope Museum, Terre Haute, Indiana; Metropolitan Museum of Art; Mattatuck Historical Society; New School for Social Research; Jersey City Art Museum; National Arts Club; and many others.

She was given three one-man shows in 1949 by The New School for Social Research, The Southold Playhouse, Long Island, and New York Public Library.

Her sculpture is included in many private collections both in the United States and Cuba.

Ruth Brall received many awards including First Honorable Mention by The Allied Artists of America for her sculptured portraits of A. Philip Randolph, 1948, and of Mary McLeod Bethune, 1949, both of which portraits are a part of a collection sculptured by the artists, of twelve distinguished living American Negroes.

[Hammond Memorial Scholarship Fund]

Represented in the Collection are:

GERTRUDE AYER, Educator-Principal

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, Founder-President of the National Council of Negro Women; Founder and President Emeritus of the Bethune-Cookman College.

RALPH J. BUNCHE, Acting Mediator on Palestine Affairs; Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

DEAN DIXON, Founder and Director of The American Youth Orchestra, Faculty Member of The Julliard School of Music.

W. E. B. DuBOIS, Philosopher, Author and Educator.

KATHERINE DUNHAM, Dancer; Author; Anthropologist.

LESTER B. GRANGER, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

LAWRENCE D. REDDICK, Professor and Librarian at Atlanta University.

JACKIE ROBINSON, Athlete, Brooklyn Dodgers Baseball Club; Youth Advisor for Recreational Activities.

CHANNING H. TOBIAS, Director Phelps Stokes Fund; Special Advisor U. N.

WALTER WHITE, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Author.

* * * * * * *

41-104-8

At the first formal exhibition of these portraits, Ruth Brall explained in the dedication of this exhibit that, "This exhibition is a tribute to living American leaders. It is my contribution to the cause of interracial and intercultural relations. These outstanding, representative Americans offer encouragement to the present and future generations who seek freedom of thought, action and understanding, and who try to establish a common threshold upon which people may meet and live within a democratic society.

In a broadcast interview with Ruth Brall, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt stated that, "Ruth Brall has made an outstanding contribution to better racial and cultural relationships."

Dr. Ralph Bunche congratulated Ruth Brall for her fine, art contribution toward education of all people.

Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, former President of The New School for Social Research, wrote an editorial upon the value of this collection as a means of continuing the fight against prejudice, ignorance and intolerance.

166 Millerick Avenue
Trenton 8, N. J.
February 27, 1956

42-2A-17

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Council of African Affairs
139 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A small group to which I belong is making a small study of Africa, a description which I am sure will fill you with impatience and contempt. But it is a fact that we are doing so, with Gunther's "Inside Africa" as our basis. I am hoping to present something of the less orthodox material on the movements taking place there, and am writing you for suggestions and, perhaps, for material. I want to know more about the passive resistance movement, for instance. I should be very glad to pay for pamphlets - I don't know really what to say I should be glad to do, for I don't know how your Council operates, and have no idea what material you might have. I can only ask you to send me or tell me where I can get material on events in Africa which doesn't get into the orthodox newspapers and magazines. And for anything you send or suggest, I shall be most grateful.

Possibly you may remember me as one of those who arranged your last visit to Trenton for the NAACP, and the person at whose house you met some friends at your visit before that.

Sincerely yours,
Verena S. Hancock
Mrs. Arthur S. Hancock

P.S. I should need to have this material soon enough to become familiar with it before March 25.

42-2A-16

March 1, 1956

Mrs. Arthur S. Hancock

166 Millerick avenue

Trenton 8, N. J.

Dear Mrs. Hancock:

Answering your letter of February 27, may I say that the literature on Africa is today so abundant that an afternoon in the New York Public Library would furnish you everything you want. I have reviewed Gunther's "Inside Africa" in a recent number of "Jewish Life." I might suggest to you the following books:

My volume, "The World and Africa," published by Viking Press in 1927.

Two recent books by Cloetes. A little known but excellent novel by Blum, "Episode in the Transvaal." This was published in England but will be republished here soon. There is much on Kenya, especially Kenyetta's book, and the United Nations has published several pamphlets. I had last year in the National Guardian a series of articles on various parts of Africa.

I remember my visit to Trenton and the excellent arrangements which you made.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du BOIS

[Handlin]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Department of History
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Oscar Handlin
Widener 783

August 20, 1956

Mr. W.E.B. duBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I am editing a volume of readings in American history, designed for use as a textbook and scheduled for publication by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 501 Madison Avenue, New York, in the Spring, 1957. I wish to make use of the following material from your publication:

42-2A-19

W.E.B. DuBois, Souls of Black Folk (1903; reprinted 1953):

p. 251: "Little of beauty..."
"wanderings and hidden ways." p. 253

p. 257: "The words that are left..."
"...my only child." p. 259

p. 261: "Through all the sorrow..."
"...goes his way." p. 264

A release form is given below for your convenience. Please note that space is provided for specification of the credit line to be used. You may sign and return the enclosed copy of this letter. I agree to give full acknowledgment in the manner indicated by you.

Your consideration of this request at your earliest convenience will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Oscar Handlin

Oscar Handlin

I hereby grant the permission requested on the terms stated in this document.

CREDIT LINE TO BE USED:

Date ______________________ By ______________________

Sent Aug 30 '56

[Handlin]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

OSCAR HANDLIN

WIDENER 783

42-2A-8

September 5, 1956

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Many thanks for your kindness in returning so promptly the permission forms for quotation from Souls of Black Folk. You may be sure acknowledgment will be made in proper form.

Yours truly,

Oscar Handlin

OH:ct

[HANSBERRY]

To Dr. & Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
With kindest regards from
William Leo Hansberry
1-6-'56

(Reprinted from *The Midwest Journal,* Volume VII, Summer 1955, No. 2, pp. 129-155.)

THE MIDWEST JOURNAL

VOLUME VII SUMMER 1955 NUMBER 2

AFRICA AND THE WESTERN WORLD

William Leo Hansberry

"Africa in the twentieth century," Victor Hugo once remarked, "will become the cynosure of many eyes." As subsequent history has revealed, this was a truly prophetic remark. Although the twentieth century has nearly half its course yet to run, Africa has long since become the cynosure of many eyes in many lands. Particularly has this been true in those countries of Western Europe where population has already reached, or is nearing, the saturation point and where industrial activity on a large scale is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the current forms of national life. Because of climatic deficiences, these nations are incapable of producing within their own boundaries such vegetable products as coffee, cocoa, cane sugar, cotton, sisal, rubber and the vegetable oils upon which their food supplies and industrial activities so largely depend; and in all of these countries gold, tin and copper, as well as many of the other important industrial minerals such as chromite, cobalt, vanadium and industrial diamonds, are either very scarce or are entirely absent.

In such countries the acquisition of colonies which could provide suitable outlets for surplus populations and which would facilitate and insure access to the raw materials which they so greatly needed, but so grievously lacked, was for many decades one of the major corner-stones of national policy; and unceasing was the search for lands which would meet each of these basic needs.

During the last half of the 19th century, European explorers, returning from tropical Africa's sunny climes, reported that the great continent was wonderfully well endowed with most of those

39-9-10

raw materials which Europe's own mines and meadows, fields and forests could not supply. In a number of these reports it was also disclosed that in the very heart of tropical Africa there were vast highland regions where the climate, particularly the temperature, was more equable and where the natural scenery was more appealing, than in the choicest parts of Europe. More than that, in these elevated parts of the continent there were, in the words of Sir Harry Johnston—one of the most eminent of the explorers—"many wonderful tracts of land" which were thoroughly capable, by virtue of their rich natural resources, of serving the needs of "several white nations."

Inspired by the information contained in these reports, the over-crowded industrial nations of Western Europe lost no time in taking such steps as they deemed necessary to bring and keep tropical Africa within the orbit of effective European control. In less than a century England, France, Germany, Belgium and Portugal made themselves the masters of territories in tropical Africa alone which totalled over seven million square miles, or an area more than twice the size of the whole of Europe. The French, with nearly two million square miles, or an area seven times the size of metropolitan France, got the lion's share; but Britain's holdings of over one and one half million square miles were nearly as large, and—it may be added—more than twenty times the size of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland combined. The Germans seized nearly 900 thousand square miles, or an area which was nearly five times as large as their fatherland; and the Portuguese wound up with territories totalling nearly 800 thousand square miles, or a prize that was more than twenty-two times the size of their own petty Portugal. And, finally, little Belgium, abetted by her bigger European neighbors, took over a vast region covering nearly a million square miles and which was eighty times larger—and infinitely richer—than Belgium herself.

Some measure of the character and extent of the natural wealth contained in imperial Europe's holdings in tropical Africa may be indicated by pointing out that, despite their comparatively limited mechanical equipment and capital investments—during the past one or two decades these colonies, along with Liberia, Ethiopia and the Union of South Africa—have been supplying the world with: twelve to fourteen per cent of its asbestos; ten to fifteen per

11-5-53

cent of its tin; eighteen to twenty per cent of its copper; twenty to forty per cent of its vanadium; thirty-five to forty per cent of its chromite; twenty to fifty per cent of its manganese ore (U.S. S.R. omitted); forty-five to fifty-five per cent of its gold; sixty to sixty-five per cent of its uranium (up to 1946, since which date no statistics have been available); sixty to seventy per cent of its sisal; sixty to seventy per cent of its cocoa; sixty to seventy per cent of its palm oil; eighty to eighty-five per cent of its cobalt; ninety to ninety-five per cent of its columbite; and ninety-six to ninety-eight per cent of its gem and industrial diamonds. They also furnish substantial and steadily increasing amounts of hardwoods, rubber, cotton, coffee, bauxite, tungsten and high grade iron ore. Of great importance, too, is the fact that, although tropical Africa comprises barely fourteen per cent of the earth's land surface, it possesses, according to latest estimates, about forty-two per cent of the world's potential hydro-electric power. This is nearly twice as much as that of Asia and substantially more than that of Europe, Australia, North America and South America combined.

In this connection it may be noted in passing that French Equatorial Africa, along with the French Cameroons, has more potential hydro-electric power than Canada, Mexico and the United States of America put together; while that of the Belgian Congo and Urundi and Ruanda exceeds the combined total for China, U.S.S.R. in Asia, India and Pakistan. More than that, the Belgian Congo is not only the world's leading producer of industrial diamonds, but shares with Northern Rhodesia the distinction of having the largest proved deposits of cobalt and copper ores that have so far been discovered anywhere in the world.

In a recent article in *Time* magazine, it was remarked that "Booming Congo exports provide the dollars and the pounds that make the Belgian franc one of the world's hardest currencies. . . . Without the mighty Congo little Belgium might go broke; with it, a nation of 9,000,000 still counts as a world empire." To a somewhat lesser extent, the same is true of England, France and Portugal, for although these nations are not altogether so dependent upon their African colonies as is little Belgium, it is, nevertheless, a well established fact that the industrial activities in, and the financial well-being of, each of these nations owe much to preferential advantages deriving from their rich holdings in tropical Africa.

11-5-53

As late as 1839, Europe's knowledge of the so-called "dark continent" was so limited that Hugh Murray, one of England's most distinguished geographers of the period, could and did declare that Africa "in all except its vast size" was the poorest and the least favored portion of the globe; but by 1905 Meredith Townsend, an eminent English publicist, was able to assert, on the strength of the then available evidence, that "Africa is probably more fertile and almost certainly richer than Asia"; and by 1910, Sir Harry Johnston—after more than thirty years spent in the African tropics—went even further by declaring that Africa was indeed "the world's richest continent." More recently, Carveth Wells, a noted English economist, mining engineer and African traveller, has observed that "with her vast resources, both developed and undeveloped, there is every reason to expect Africa to become an industrial continent able not only to build great industries almost entirely upon her own resources, but to become as well the greatest exporter of raw materials in the world."

In most of the public declarations bearing upon their activities and operations in colonial Africa, the spokesmen for Europe's imperial powers usually endeavor to create the impression that such activities are now and always have been motivated primarily by the humanitarian and Christian desire to improve the material and spiritual well-being of "benighted Africa's backward folk"; but among the Africans themselves and others, there has always been, to say the least, a certain measure of skepticism towards these expressions of Europe's primary purposes in the continent. When it is remembered that the average wage of most African workers is under one hundred dollars a year; that most of the chromite and copper and cocoa, and practically all of the cobalt and gold and diamonds—and the same is true for many other minerals mined in the continent—are not utilized in Africa by Africans, but are exported by non-African brokers to Europe or Asia or the Americas; and, finally, that most of the good land in the salubrious, tropical highlands and practically all of the mines everywhere are owned by peoples of European stock—it is easy enough to understand why Christian Europe's lofty declarations about her primary intentions in the continent are being scrutinized by the Africans with increasing measures of doubt.

Although fearing one another—and with good cause, as the experiences of Italy and Germany have demonstrated—the colonial powers, up until about a decade or so ago, were quite confident that they would be thoroughly capable of meeting any and all types of local resistance to their control of the African tropics that might arise in the foreseeable future. During the past ten years, Europe has experienced, however, some rude and unexpected shocks to its confidence and complacency in this respect. The qualms caused in the West by popular support of nationalist movements and other forms of protests— of which the Mau Mau outbreak is but one— in various parts of the continent, have not been helped by rumors of increasing subterranean contacts between Black Africa and the Red North and the Reddening East.

Although the United States has no African colonies, it has long been dependent, like Western Europe, on tropical Africa for many important raw materials which are absent or in short supply within its own boundaries but which are indispensable to the maintenance of its industrial life. In the past the country has experienced, as a general rule, no difficulty, thanks to the cooperation of its colony-holding allies, in procuring such of these materials as it required. Under these circumstances America, up to recent years, has not found it necessary to trouble itself particularly or directly about socio-economic or political developments in colonial Africa; and has been, in the main, content to limit its interest in, and relationships with, the continent to such activities as were carried on by missionary societies, big-game hunters, field anthropologists and the makers of motion picture thrillers.

In the face, however, of recent political trends and traumatic developments in colonial Africa, and because of their disquieting portents for the future, America has of late begun to show a more inclusive interest in the course of affairs in the brooding and increasingly taut continent. Since Africa is the chief source of several, and the only source of some, of the raw materials which are indispensable to the continuance of the country's industrial well-being, it is now patently clear that America can ill afford to follow any other course.

In keeping with America's expanding interest in Africa and African affairs, various national foundations, educational institutions and other public spirited organizations have been giving in recent years increasing attention to ways and means through which the nation's limited and hazy knowledge of the so-called "dark continent" can be broadened and clarified. To this end numerous conferences and seminars on Africa have been sponsored during the past five years by various agencies in all parts of the country. One of the most significant and successful undertakings of this kind was the "Conference on Contemporary Africa", which was held in the nation's capital in August, 1954, under the auspices of The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. At the conference a series of twenty-two papers, each treating of a different aspect of conditions or affairs in contemporary Africa, were presented by their respective authors— all of whom were persons of stature in their particular fields of endeavor. These papers, along with recorded observations of a commentator who was assigned to discuss each paper, have been published under the title *Africa Today.*[1]

In the opinion of its publishers, "this book . . . is the most up-to-date and comprehensive collection of materials on Africa that is to be found in any single volume." And if this claim is limited, as seems intended, to information about social, economic and political conditions in contemporary Africa, there is much to be said for the publishers' not over-modest appraisal, for the range of the topics covered is indeed very wide. In the first part of the volume, six papers are devoted primarily to discussions of the general topic "The Position of Africa in World Affairs"; these are followed by eight papers on "The Heritage of Africa"; and then follow eight papers in which "The Elements of Political and Social Upheaval" are discussed. Various phases of "Recent Developments in the African Dependencies" are next reviewed in eight papers devoted to this general topic; and these are followed by eight more papers treating of different aspects of "The Economic Status and Future Possibilities of Africa." And, finally, there are two papers under the general heading: "The United States and Africa," and with these the main contents of the volume come to an end; but there is attached, in the form of an appendix, a brief discussion of the Mau Mau by a former governor of Kenya—whose observations, to say the least, add nothing of value to the book.

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[1] *Africa Today,* edited by C. Grove Haines. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1955.

Altogether there are, counting the commentaries, thirty-nine papers in the volume. If our inferences are correct, twenty-seven of these are by Americans, eight by Englishmen, two by Belgians, one by an Englishwoman and two by an African. There are no indications of the reason why more Africans did not participate in the conference and thereby contribute to the volume, but whatever the cause, this was unfortunate, for as good as many of the other papers are, it is only through the two essays by the single African that one can be altogether sure that he is seeing Africa today as it is seen by the Africans themselves—that is to say, from the inside. At one of the later sessions of the conference one member of the audience, after having listened to the papers presented at that and the previous meetings by the non-African participants, was heard to remark, "Why are there not more African speakers?" He then went on to say that we need to know what the Africans themselves are thinking, for, after all, it is they who are going to determine in the long run the destiny of the continent and chart the course of its relationships with the outside world.

39-9-13

In the two papers, both of exceptional literary merit, by the lone African contributor, Dr. Kofi Busia, a teacher of the Social Sciences in the University College of the Gold Coast, it is clearly indicated that the author of this remark was quite right. These two papers, by their clarity, statesmanlike tone and inclusiveness of content, provide—along with an ever-increasing number of comparable statements by African leaders elsewhere—clear evidence of the fact that the time is already at hand when the African intends to be, and is capable of becoming, his own spokesman; that from the present onward it will be advisable for the world at large not to rely entirely on what outsiders have to say about what has taken, and is taking, place—and is likely to take place—inside the great continent. It is also evident from Professor Busia's remarks that the African people, and especially their leaders, are thoroughly aware of the potentialities inherent in Africa's material and human resources and are determined that these shall be developed and utilized in such a way as to win for Africa and the Africans their just and rightful place in world affairs.

The calm and dispassionate but confident manner in which Professor Busia assures his readers that the African is on the verge of becoming master in his own house and the arbiter of his external affairs, will come, no doubt, as something of a surprise to those who have been taught—by teachers with ulterior motives—to believe that Africa is now and always has been hardly more than a gigantic jungle filled with "savage beasts and still more savage men." Scarcely less surprising to this class of readers will be certain facts and observations which they will meet in several of the papers treating of the cultural heritage and the social patterns which provide the basic foundations and the unique ethos of the African way of life. Of the several statements belonging in this category, specific mention can be made here of only two or three.

In discussing "The Role of Christianity and Islam in Africa," Dr. George W. Carpenter points out that the early Christian missionaries, in the course of their efforts to establish rapport with the indigenous peoples, discovered "what no representative of Western culture had previously suspected—that Africa had a deep, rich, varied and complex cultural life of its own, containing many elements of positive value and constituting a way of life in which each individual had his place in the functional social whole—clan, community, tribe or nation." Dr. Carpenter further observes that until comparatively recent times "the existence of this African culture was still unknown to the Western world. . . ." He well may have added that, except in very limited and specialized circles, the existence of this culture is still unknown to the Western world, even at the present day.

But not all missionaries have been quite so perceptive as those to whom Dr. Carpenter refers. Drawing upon the observation of Dr. Diedrich Westermann, the great German anthropologist, Dr. Lorenzo Turner, in a discussion of the influence of Western culture on African society, points out that there are some missionaries "who have nothing to learn from the findings of the anthropologists. To them the institutions and outlook of the West are ideal, and to transplant this ideal is the aim of their work. Where native institutions are different from our own, they are unchristian," and, as Dr. Turner implies, are regarded by such missionaries with little respect. How do thoughtful Africans react to the practices and attitudes of these ethnocentric intruders from the Christian West? Dr. Turner includes in his paper a quotation from a recently published article by Mr. Ako Adjei[2], a Western trained African from the Gold Coast, in which the author states in no uncertain terms his own reactions to this type of missionary. There is now available much comparable testimony which indicates that his views are shared by an increasingly large number of thoughtful Africans in every part of the continent. In his forthright statement, Ako Adjei observes:

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[2] Ako Adjei, "Imperialism and Spiritual Freedom: An African View," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 50 (1944).

> The Christian church in Africa has never respected or tolerated the traditional institutions of African society . . . . It is difficult for Europeans and Americans to believe that there is something noble and sublime in African religion and in African moral ideas that is worthy of respect by the civilized world . . . . Belief in an Almighty God, love of one man for his fellow human beings or what we usually call the universal brotherhood of mankind, a belief in life after death and the existence of a spiritual world are fundamental in African religious ideas. . . . [These] and other fundamental Christian beliefs were common in African religious philosophy long before the first Christian missionaries set foot on the [African] continent. . . . It is the Christian church . . . that Africans have found to be destructive of the traditional and indigenous institutions of our society.

39-9-14

Dr. Carpenter's remarks to the effect that Africa had a "deep, rich, varied and complex cultural life of its own" long before it came into contact with the West; and Ako Adjei's vigorous protest against the tendencies of the Western newcomers to ignore or disparage the many elements of positive value in the continent's ancient and indigenous institutions—brief as each statement is—are two of the most important in the volume here under review. They point up the need of a fundamental revision of the Western world's traditional notions about "savage Africa" and they cause the thoughtful to ask how, by whom, and why the peoples of the great continent were so grievously traduced in the eyes of the world.

To neither of these questions will the reader find a satisfactory answer in *Africa Today,* but in today's Africa there are millions who have already made up their minds about the matter and there will be many millions more of like mind in Africa tomorrow. The generality of peoples in the Western world will be well advised not only to pay increasing attention to such questions, but to make an earnest effort to learn and know Africa and the Africans as they really are—their faults and their failings, to be sure, but their virtues and their devotion to the eternal verities as well. The Western world also needs to be infinitely better acquainted with that vast body of now available historical materials relating to the continent's storied and unstoried past, for it is no overstatement to say that until the African Iliad, as it has been revealed by modern archaeological and historical research, is more widely known, the stirring story of the triumphs and tragedies of human strivings throughout the ages must remain a half-told tale.

Unless these or comparable programs are pursued, it is likely that the masses and the classes in Europe and America will continue to view the Africans through the smoke-colored spectacles of Africa's transgressing traducers and persist in the effort to order their inevitable relationships with the continent's peoples as if they were indeed the child-like primitives which their self-appointed guardians would like the world to believe. But it needs to be remembered that such views and evaluations by the West have never been accepted by the Africans themselves. In the past the totality of circumstances made it somewhat difficult to express effective disapproval, but today the situation is somewhat different and will be more so tomorrow. The West will be wise if it amends its attitudes toward, and orders its relationships with, Africa and the Africans in accordance with changing realities. In the volume here under review there are some indications that in certain important political and academic circles in the West, there is as yet no clear conception of this need and that efforts might be made to follow a less wise and more costly course.

Of much interest in this connection are certain of the sentiments and points of view expressed in the paper "Africa and the West in historical perspective," by Sir Philip Mitchell, who had had an almost unparalleled opportunity to learn the truth about Africa and African institutions from the inside. For nine years (1944-52) he was the Governor of Kenya Colony and prior to that served for five years (1935-40) as Britain's governor in rich Uganda—both situated partly in the beautiful and balmy tablelands of East Africa. Here dwelt peoples with remarkably highly developed and effective social systems long before the coming of the Europeans. But notwithstanding these and other opportunities to observe African institutions at close range, Sir Philip assures his readers that prior to the coming of the Europeans, Africa was "a continent that knew no peace, had no hope and saw no future. . . ." It was inhabited, he says, by peoples "living in a brutish lethargy induced by continuous danger, horrors and sufferings" and who were dominated "by the savage whims of tyrants or the obscene orgies of sorcerers." It was, we are informed, "the Bible and the brave, determined and merciful men and women who carried its message of hope" into the continent who did most to deliver its peoples "from the terrors and miseries of their lives, from the great man-hunt which was life in Central Africa."

Sir Philip thinks the Mau Mau and other periodical outbreaks against the colonial authorities which are "unhappily often seized upon by tendentious writers and speakers in the West and misrepresented as political revolts, liberation movements and resistance to tyranny," are in reality "atavistic movements back into the horrors and darkness of the past." Of Mau Mau in particular, he observes that this movement is an "advanced form of group insanity." It may not be amiss to point out here that under the land allotment arrangements existing in Kenya during Sir Philip's administration, land owned by or reserved for Europeans averaged out in such a way as to provide every European, man, woman and child, with 600 acres—all of which was good land. But for each Kikuyu—the sponsors of Mau Mau—the average was only eight acres, one-fourth of which was too sterile for cultivation or pasture. The distinguished ex-governor does not seem to recognize that this inequitable arrangement, along with the fact that many other natural resources, including all of the mineral rights, have been taken over as European property, may well have contributed in some slight degree to bringing about this "advance form of group insanity."

It is Sir Philip's opinion that "the processes now called 'colonialism' have been, beyond question, the most beneficent, disinterested and effective force which has ever been brought to bear on Africa in all its history." Dr. David Owen of Harvard University, in his commentary of Sir Philip's paper, indicates that he is not only in complete agreement with its basic points of view but adds the amazing observation that prior to the cultural advances sponsored in the continent by its colonial masters, Africa in the cultural sense was about at a level of development comparable to that prevailing in the Western world about four to five thousand years

39-9-15

before the Christian era. In his opinion, under the impact of its Western contacts, Africa is being required to dash, as it were, from the Stone Age into the twentieth century in hardly more than a single decade. That Sir Philip Mitchell, with his long and intimate contacts with Africa, could not only entertain but dare publicly to state such astonishing sentiments and observations as are expressed in his paper; and that these could be endorsed and even embellished by so able a scholar as Dr. Owen, would seem to suggest that the endeavor to get the West to see African cultures and Africa's past in their true light is not going to be exactly an easy task.

The paper by Dr. Peter Ady, of Oxford University, on "Africa's Economic Potentialities," though different in content from the two papers just mentioned, is written in much the same pessimistic vein. In reading this paper one gets the impression that Dr. Ady is making a deliberate attempt to present Africa's economic potentialities in a definitely unfavorable light. What the author interprets as the continent's economic limitations are singled out for special stress, but its exceptional material resources and unique economic advantages are either barely mentioned or completely overlooked.

Despite the fact that Africa south of the Sahara has been supplying the world in recent decades, as was pointed out earlier, with ninety-six per cent of its diamonds, eighty to eighty-five per cent of its cobalt, sixty to seventy per cent of its cocoa, sixty to seventy per cent of its palm oil, sixty or more per cent of its uranium, forty-five to fifty-five per cent of its gold, as well as very substantial quantities of other valuable mineral and vegetable products; and has, besides, the largest of all known reserves of copper and gold, and also nearly half of the world's potential hydro-electric power—Dr. Ady, speaking of the region, makes the amazing statement that "there is no doubt that this area is poor." None of the facts and statistics just repeated, and which are readily available in many publications treating of such matters, is mentioned anywhere in the paper. The author, however, assures her readers that in the continent south of the Sahara, the soil is poor, the water supply is deficient, the population is scarce, the diet is lacking in important nutrients, the labor supply is inadequate and inefficient,

11-3-52

the annual wage is "less than $50 per year and, finally, "Africa is above all a problem continent."

It is quite true that in many parts of Africa the water supply is deficient and the soil lacks certain chemical elements which are essential to the optimum growth of plant life, but what Dr. Ady does not point out is the fact that these conditions are not peculiar to Africa. As a matter of fact, in terms of its total area, Africa is less handicapped by soil and water deficiencies than are any of the other continents. It is decidedly better off in these respects than are Asia and Australia. Moreover, while vast regions in Asia, as well as in Europe and North America, are so deficient in solar energy that they are utterly useless for the production of any of the major food crops, in no part of Africa is there such a lack, but Dr. Ady makes no mention of this fact. Nor is there any reference to the even more important fact that Africa, despite its vast desert regions and the water and soil deficiencies in some of its other areas, has nonetheless substantially more lands of medium and high carrying capacity than either Asia or South America, nearly twice as much as North America, and more than three times as much as Europe and Australia. In other words, according to the latest findings, Africa's potential in food production is greater than that of any other continent.

As Dr. Ady states, population density per square mile in Africa as a whole is comparatively low, and while this may reduce the quantity of cheap labor currently available for use in the mines and on the European estates in the "white highlands", it means, from the long-range point of view, that the continent has much room for population growth. African labor is said to be inefficient, but the balance sheets of the great mining corporations and other European-owned commercial organizations report, as a general rule, huge annual profits and it is, in the main, African labor which makes such profits possible. But even if the African laborer is inefficient it is a safe bet that he earns his $50 per year! It is readily agreed that Africa is, as Dr. Ady states, "a problem continent," but, it may be asked, a problem to whom,— and why? And there is just one more question: in stressing Africa's poverty," why did not Dr. Ady, in the article on the economic potentialities of the continent, mention Africa's vast mineral reserves and the tremen-

39-9-16

dous amounts of useful vegetable and mineral products which the continent is already supplying to England and the rest of the world?

In contrast to Dr. Ady's failure to mention Africa's important material assets, there are, however, several papers in the volume in which there is ready acknowledgement of Africa's vast material resources, as well as their exceptional importance to the rest of the world. One of such papers is by E. William Moran, Jr., Chief of the African Division, United States Foreign Operations Administration. Another is by Bernard Blankenheimer, Chief of the African Section of the United States Bureau of Foreign Commerce. Writing with special reference to the United States and her European allies, Mr. Moran calls attention to the fact that Africa is practically the sole source of supply "for such strategic minerals as industrial diamonds, columbite and cobalt." In both papers it is further pointed out that the United States leans heavily upon Africa for such vegetable products as cocoa, rubber, sisal and palm oil. Despite the important part that they are already playing in much of the world's economy, Africa's material resources as a whole have, up to now, Mr. Moran states, "been scarcely touched."

Mr. Moran emphasizes, however, that these African materials "are now essential to the expanding economy" of Europe and the United States, and will become "of increasing importance in the future." The development of these resources is, therefore, "essential," Mr. Moran concludes, "not only to Africa's own internal development, but to the "continued expansion of the economies of the United States and Europe."

In terms of their existing reserves and maxium potential, it is true that many of Africa's material resources have "scarcely been touched." But this does not mean, as Mr. Moran's remark might seem to imply, that their presence and usefulness to man had not been recognized by the Africans themselves, and much of the rest of the world, in times past. On the contrary, the now available archaeological and historical evidence reveals that tropical Africa's indigenous peoples have been not only thoroughly aware of the presence of a surprisingly large number of these materials but have been making extensive and effective use of them for many thousands of years. More than that, the available evidence makes it clear that the inhabitants of tropical Africa during historical antiquity and the Middle Ages not only utilized such materials on a grand scale in the upbuilding of their own now largely forgotten civilizations, but shared these abundant resources, through exports, with much of the rest of the world.

Included among the materials which were anciently utilized for one or the other and, to some extent, for both of these purposes, were such mineral products as gold, electrum, copper, copper oxides, cobalt, hematite, iron, tin, silver, lead sulphide (galena), zinc, quartz, crystal, obsidian, mica, jasper, cornelian, and certain other precious or semi-precious stones; such vegetable products as ebony, camwood, indigo, vegetable oils, and frankincense. Also used were gums, leaves and barks of other aromatic plants; and such animal products as ivory, ostrich feathers, mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shells, civet and bees-wax.

Ancient mine-workings which yielded many of these mineral products have been found in various parts of tropical Africa. And it is evident, from the great number and large size of some of them, that the minerals or mineral-bearing ores extracted from these old mines, long before the advent of the Europeans, must have been truly enormous. Particularly is this true of certain of the old gold and copper mines which have been found in the Sudan—the homeland of the ancient Kushites—and in the modern Rhodesias and their environs. In this latter region—the seat of the once far-famed Empire of Monomotapa—there have been discovered the most extensive of all ancient gold and copper workings that have yet been reported from any part of the world.

It has been estimated by those competent to speak on the matter, that the gold removed from the old mines in the latter region, prior to the coming of the Europeans, would total, in terms of the current market value, about a half billion dollars. Although the archaeological evidence indicates that much of this gold was retained in the country, we learn from surviving documentary sources that vast quantities of it, along with copper, iron, ebony and other native products, were exported in earlier times to the Middle East, Persia and India, and indeed as far afield as China. The Portuguese, following their arrival in East Africa at the dawn of modern times, also derived much of their gold, and some of their copper and iron, from this general area.

It is now also known that the once rich, powerful and widely renowned, but now largely forgotten, kingdoms and empires which anciently flourished in West Africa and its environs were, likewise, centers where vast quantities of gold were mined, smelted and processed not only for use at home, but also for export to Europe and much of the rest of the world. On the strength of two learned monographs by able specialists, treating independently of this matter, an eminent student of Africa's relationships with Western Europe, pointed out some years ago that "the gold for the coinages of Portugal, Spain and Italy . . . in the 14th and 15th centuries . . . came exclusively from West Africa";[3] and it is known from other sources that much of Europe's gold during the 16th and 17th centuries also came from this same source. Large quantities of ivory, "pepper" (i.e., spices, etc.) and dye-woods are also known to have reached Europe from West Africa throughout this period.

But notwithstanding the extensive quantities of gold which the Africans in earlier times mined for their own use and for export to other lands, and despite the fact that during the past two or three decades the continent has been producing annually, on the average, half of the world's gold supply, it is estimated that Africa's gold reserves are nonetheless the largest in the world. In 1943 Africa's gold reserves were estimated at seventy-seven million troy ounces, which were nearly twice as much as those in Asia or North America, and almost double the total for Europe, Australia and South America combined. Moreover, since 1943 new gold fields have been discovered in several parts of Africa, the largest of which are in the Orange Free State. And, as has already been pointed out, Africa is known to have the largest reserves of copper, cobalt, diamonds and potential hydro-electric power—and the same is presumably true for uranium—that have, up to now, been discovered anywhere. In assessing Africa's total potential, it is necessary, however, to add to these huge reserves Africa's other material resources which, on the whole, are being exploited, if at all, on only a comparatively small scale. Mr. Moran is therefore substantially correct when he says that Africa's material resources have been scarcely touched.

It is needless to say that it will be upon the development of these resources that the material advancement and future well-being of Africa will largely depend. The development of these resources, as Mr. Moran has pointed out, is also essential to the expanding economics of the United States and Western Europe; and will be of increasing importance in these respects in the decades which lie ahead. How may these resources be best developed for the good of all concerned?

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[3] Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, p. 1485.

In several of the papers in the volume considerable attention is given to this question. In most of the papers it is agreed that such a program of development will require vast amounts of capital, most of which will have to be brought in from the outside. To some of the authors, this will be the major problem which the program will have to face. Other authors, however, think it will be a grave mistake to think of Africa's development primarily in terms of the capital such an undertaking will require; in their opinion, equally as much, if not more, attention will have to be given to the impact of such a program on the Africans themselves. The problem of Africa's future development from this point of view is ably discussed by Paul Henry, the Secretary General of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara.

Except for two or three tenuously based observations which he advances in this connection, Mr. Henry's article is surely one of the most penetrating and forthright statements to be found in print. African leaders, as well as all others who are honestly interested in the future well being of the continent and its relationships with the Western world, will do well to read and ponder it at length. Mr. Henry's fundamental concept is that any successful plan for the development of Africa's resources for the good of all concerned and for the material advancement of the African way of life must take into very serious account not only the positive values and demonstrated vitality of Africa's indigenous institutions, but also the African's own traditional and future objectives for his society. Any plan or plans imported ready made from the outside and modeled exclusively along traditional Western lines will, he feels, be sure to fail. This, in his opinion, would result from the fact that the African view of the world and man is quite different in some fundamental respects from that which prevails in the West.

Mr. Henry does not attempt to spell out in detail the nature of these fundamental differences, other than to say that Western man—dominated, as Mr. Henry seems to imply, by an essentially materialistic outlook on the world—approaches this task primarily through scientific and technological processes which are, the author thinks, basically foreign to African experience and to the African systems of thought. As others have pointed out, and as Mr. Henry also implies, the African's philosophy of life, with its strong accents on the religious and the spiritual, and the basic objectives of African society, which are definitely oriented toward insuring the welfare of the social whole, are also quite different in many ways from those of the West. Hence any plan or plans for African development which would be constructed in accordance with predominantly Western concepts will be inevitably out of harmony with the body and the spirit of African civilization at many vital points.

This would lead to inevitable conflicts between the Africans and those who would endeavor to put the Westernized plan or plans into effect. Because of the vitality of Africa's indigenous civilizations, they would win in the end in such contests. Although Mr. Henry gives no doubt, too much weight to the current lack of the force of science and its practical application in African society, he is nevertheless probably quite right in saying that the Africans would resist and defeat any attempt to establish a basically Westernized Weltanschauung in his ancestral continent. Mr. Henry, however, probably underestimates the extent to which the Africans are ready and willing to admit and assimilate Western science and Western technology, and even to lend their own genius to the further development of both; but he is perhaps very near the truth when he says that the Africans will never submit to "total Westernization", for African civilization, he warns, has "strong roots" and "any attempt to eradicate them is bound to fail. . . . "

Of the many deterrents to the total Westernization of African civilization, none perhaps will be more effective than the African's fundamental dislike for the secularism which has come to be such a prominent feature of Western culture, not only on its home grounds, but in its manifestations abroad. In a discussion of the manner in which this unhappy aspect of Western civilization expresses it self in Africa, Dr. Carpenter points out that:

> Secularism—the view that religious faith in any form is of negligible importance—is the real attitude of many representatives of Western culture and is being presented powerfully and persuasively by their own behavior. It is implicit in the priority which [European] governments [in Africa] give to questions of material welfare as against

> human relations, in the dominance of the profit motive in industry, in the wage system which treats laborers as 'hands', not as people. . . . The African who is basically religious is shocked by the blatant materialism of the European.

As the chief director of America's missionary endeavors in Africa, Dr. Carpenter is certain that that venerable institution of Western civilization, the Christian Church, has done, is doing, and is capable of doing in the future, much good in Africa. But he points out that the Africans "are quick to detect the hypocrisy" of those representatives of the Christian West "who hold that 'Christianity is good for the Africans' but who reject it for themselves." And he warns that "neither Christianity nor Islam",—and, he might have added, the old animism of the Africans themselves—has "much chance of saving Africa from disaster" should the African follow "all too many Europeans in relegating religious faith to the status of excess baggage" or a "non-essential luxury."

If current trends are a safe index of the direction in which events will move in the future, there would seem to be little likelihood that Western civilization will ever become influential enough in Africa to induce the people at large to imitate or adopt the negative attitude toward religion. This outlook is, as Dr. Carpenter complains, altogether too common among the Europeans who have intruded themselves into the Africans' midst, and whom up to now they have had every reason to dislike and distrust. In the past, the reaction of the Africans to such an attitude has been, as Dr. Carpenter states, one of shock, and human nature being what it is, people do not usually give their allegiance to views which produce such a result, and particularly, if such views are held by groups whom the people dislike and distrust. Hence it seems hardly likely that the Africans of the present or the future will fall into the pit of which Dr. Carpenter speaks.

As a matter of fact the negative attitude toward religion on the part of the representatives from the Christian West is so definitely at odds with the Africans' own ancient and deeply intrenched religious philosophy and hpilosophical octlooks that it—along with the predatory practices of all too many of its adherents, will have —as it is already having—the effect of causing Africans to distrust and reject even the positive values that are inherent in the Christian religion and, indeed, the whole way of life that prevails in the

Christian West. Already there is available a considerable amount of evidence which indicates that even "Christianized" African leaders and teachers who have been trained in the West are deeply imbued with such distrust. To such persons it is clear that the Western world has in abundance both the capital and the technical knowledge which will be needed to develop the African continent and its ancient and indigenous cultures to the point where they can take their rightful place in the world of the future. Because, however, of the inequities which have usually attended Africa's relationships with the Christian West in the past, these teachers and leaders are fearful of similar developments in the future. In those parts of the continent where the Africans, through their persistent endeavors have succeeded in regaining, as of old, the direction of their own affairs, or have made substantial progress in that direction, they are looking to the West for the capital and technical assistance which they will need. But they are thoroughly alert to the dangers of such a program, and are giving much thought to the safeguards which the situation will require.

Dr. Busia of the Gold Coast, writing with special reference to the present and future development of Nigeria and his own homeland—both of which have brought themselves to the verge of independence—states that while the leaders of these countries "are aware of the need for outside help, nationalism and the fear of economic exploitation dictate caution." He is ready enough to admit that both countries, in carrying forward their plans for development, will need foreign aid in the form of both capital and technical assistance, but in seeking and accepting such aid they must see to it, he advises, that they do not lay themselves open to economic serfdom and the loss of political freedom. The problem in Nigeria and the Gold Coast is one of "establishing the right kind of relationships" with "Britain and other countries" from which the needed assistance will be secured. He states that in working out these relationships it will be necessary to devise arrangements which will "provide adequate security and profits for foreign investments", but which will at the same time insure the protection of the indigenous peoples of the two countries concerned.

What is to be the role of the United States in supplying the capital and technical assistance which the proper development of Nigeria, the Gold Coast and other parts of Africa will require? In this connection, Mr. Moran, who is in charge, it will be remembered, of channeling U. S. technical assistance into Africa, has some arresting observations to make with respect to this all-important matter. It is his opinion that the European countries now in control of colonial Africa are becoming "increasingly less able" to shoulder alone the various responsibilities which the proper development of the continent will entail. More than that, it is his opinion that they should not carry "all the load alone," for no longer is "Africa the exclusive concern of Europe but also of the United States as the leader of the free world." How the United States should meet its responsibilities to Africa and what should be America's attitude toward current political trends in the continent, are also discussed by Mr. Moran and several other contributors to *Africa Today.*

In view of the fact that Africa is the only source of some, and a primary source of many, of the mineral and vegetable products upon which the industries and economies of the United States and her European allies must largely depend for their current operations and future development, it is both fitting and proper that American economists and statesmen should be deeply concerned about the course of affairs in Africa; and, on the whole, the sentiments and proposals which are contained in the papers in *Africa Today,* treating of America's present and future relationships with the great continent, will bring, no doubt, much hope and encouragement to the African people.

Because of the various reasons why America must continue to maintain cordial relations with the metropolitan powers which are, for the time being, still fairly well entrenched in colonial Africa, it is true that most of the statement in these papers are couched in rather cautious language; it is, however, reasonably clear that most of the authors of these papers have already made up their minds about the direction in which their country's major and ultimate interests lie. For, as has been aptly said, no country has, necessarily, permanent allies but only permanent interests; and there are an increasingly large number of African statesmen and future African leaders who are quite as well aware of this fact as are leaders and statesmen elsewhere.

In the course of a twenty-three thousand mile journey through the greater part of Africa during 1953-54, the author of this article-review conversed with hundreds of Africans in all walks of life, and of both high and low degree, and nothing impressed him more during these travels than did the extent to which so many thoughtful Africans are looking toward America for the financial aid and the technical assistance which they will need in carrying out their own plans for the future development of their continent. I remember particularly well some remarkable conversations which I had with African leaders and others about such matters in, notably, Wadi Halfa, Port Sudan and Khartoum in the Sudan; in Addis Ababa and Asmara in Ethiopia and Eritrea; in Entebbe and Kampala in Uganda; in Nairobi and Mombasa in Kenya; in Dar es Salaam in Tanganyika Territory; in Salisbury, Bulawayo, Livingstone and Wankie (chiefly with working men) in Northern Rhodesia; in Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa; in Elisabethville and Leopoldville (with taxi drivers, hotel workers and postal clerks) in the Belgian Congo; and with scores of persons in all walks of life in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Liberia.

In Ethiopia and Liberia much was heard about the admirable accomplishments of the Point Four program in these countries; and in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and the Sudan it was readily admitted that these countries had made in recent years remarkable economic and educational progress through policies and programs which had been either initiated by or worked out in cooperation with the British. But I found that, notwithstanding the admitted progress in these directions, the people at large and most of their leaders were eager to have the English leave these countries as soon as possible. There were several reasons, so I was informed, for this almost universal sentiment, but nothing, I was advised, had done more to initiate and vitalize this feeling than the old English practice of the "Color Bar" and the widespread British habit of speaking of the so-called "natives" as "primitive peoples." In these countries, as well as in Kenya, Uganda and the Rhodesias, there was a feeling among the Africans that the United States—being a big, rich and underpopulated country and under no pressure to find jobs and living room abroad for its own citizens—is less inclined toward "colonialism" than are those Western European nations who owe so much of their power and prestige to advantages deriving from their holdings in Africa. More than that, there is a widespread notion in Africa that the United States, in accordance with its own democratic principles, as expressed in its Constitution and as has been repeatedly announced in the Atlantic Charter and other public declarations, is strongly in favor of self-determination and self-government for all peoples, and for these reasons is quite likely to be sympathetic to colonial Africa's aspirations in these directions.

Apropos of this, it may be remarked that during my visit to Accra in the Gold Coast, which occurred at the same time that the Johns Hopkins Conference on Contemporary Africa was in progress, I was impressed by the disappointment which was registered by certain young African leaders when they learned through a U. S. I. A. announcement that Mr. Henry A. Byroade, then the Assistant Secretary of State, would not be able, because of illness, to deliver his scheduled address to the conference; for there had been rumors to the effect that he would make an important statement on the future policy of the United States toward colonialism in the continent.

It is needless to say that as an American I was rather pleased by these various expressions of Africa's current faith in and good will toward my own country. But if the whole truth is to be told, it must be said that I met and conversed with a number of able and well-trained Africans who were by no means disposed to regard the United States as a genuine and disinterested friend of the African people and who were inclined to look in other directions for the outside assistance which the future development of the continent will require. Some insisted that despite all of her shortcomings in the past, England had learned or was learning her lesson and that British Africa would do well to think long and hard before casting off its traditional allegiance to "the Crown". Others thought that the very nature of the capitalistic system made it impossible for the United States or any other capitalistic country to adjust its demands in such a way as to make them conform to the type or types of economic and political programs which Africa must pursue in order to guarantee the African masses a just and genuine stake in the development of their continent. In this connection, it may be remarked that I was introduced for the first time to R. Palme Dutt's *Crisis in Britain and the British Empire,* an influential Communist publication, by an able young African who is an avowed non-Communist. I was informed that the volume was well known and widely read in British West Africa.

While discussing the future of African-American relations with a young and brilliant Western trained Nigerian, I was told with considerable assurance that the United States would in due course grant the African people both the necessary political and financial aid, not necessarily because of any genuine sympathy for the Africans' material or political aspirations, but rather because America will have to do so in order to safeguard her own selfish interests. For it was this African's opinion that the United States and Western Europe needs now, and will continue to need, Africa more than Africa needs and will need Western Europe and the United States. And he proudly remarked that Africa could find in India, China, Japan, Russia, Yugoslavia, East Germany and Czechoslavakia all of the capital, capital goods, markets and technological guidance which the future development of the continent would require, but that the United States and Western Europe will be able, as at present, to secure many of the raw materials and markets they will need only in Africa.

How many other Africans are imbued with such notions, I, of course, do not know, but it is hardly likely that this African is alone in entertaining such thoughts and it is reasonably certain that he is not keeping his ideas to himself. Be this as it may, enough has been said to indicate that America can ill afford to neglect or dissipate the great amount of good will which so many of Africa's people now hold for the United States. America's Point Four activities and U. S. I. A. program in Africa, along with other kindred endeavors clearly indicate that the United States intends to pursue no such untimely course. This conclusion is strengthened and confirmed by the general outlook and points of view expressed or implied in most of the papers by Americans in *Africa Today.*

In the last chapter of *Africa Today* and in what is fittingly enough an eloquent epilogue to the whole volume, Dr. Busia expresses in ringing words what may safely be taken as the views and attitudes of most thoughtful Africans, when he writes:—"The increasing interest which the United States is taking in our continent fills us with hope for the future." While he is gratified by America's signified intention of assisting Africa in the development of its many material resources, this is not, he indicates, the chief reason why the increasing bonds between his ancestral continent and America fills him with hope for the future. It is, rather, because the increasing interest of America in Africa might well open the way for a clearer understanding by the West of the true character and real worth of his continent's human resources.

Too often in the past the Western world, as he implies, has been wont "to divide men into primitive and civilized, superior and inferior, and so find justification for injustice or selfish greed or the exercise of power or benevolent paternalism." He reminds those who hold to such views and practices that "the stark fact is that the earth is inhabited by man"; that there is "no primitive man or civilized man." Some men live in primitive conditions and some do not, but there is "only one species of man on earth." Although the generality of men in his continent may now live under "harsh and primitive conditions," the "inhabitants of Africa have the intelligence, the spirit and the capabilities of contemporary man."

Having said as much, he writes:

> I would plead with you in America and Europe to help us in Africa first by expressing your faith in us as belonging like yourselves to the 'old proud pageant of man.' Show by your actions toward us, whether in the New World or the Old, that you accept and believe in the fact that we all share a common humanity. We in Africa can and will respond to the outstretched hand. . . .

If such a course is followed, the world will find Africa ready, willing, and able to play her full part in the

> creation of a world community of free men, bound by friendship and mutual respect, united by fundamental agreement in the democratic way of life, and by the faith in the equality and dignity of man. . . . We are happy to have evidence [Dr. Busia concludes], that America—this great nation that has won for herself the leadership of the world—intends to play a leading role in this heroic adventure of building a world community of free men freely associated for the realization of man's highest aspirations.

Here is indeed an eloquent plea for human understanding; but it is more than that; it is a veiled, yet not too veiled, warning to the West that from the African point of view, Africa's place in world affairs in the future will be determined not alone by the importance and development of its material resources, but by a proper evaluation of and a respectful attitude toward its human resources as well. In the light of this warning it is clear that if the United States hopes to retain and augment, and not to dissipate, the great amount of African good will which is, for the time being, at the country's command, it will be imperative that the American people in all walks of life revise, speedily and fundamentally, many of its current notions about and attitudes toward the long maligned and grievously misjudged inhabitants of this great continent.

The "African savage," "the uncivilized tribes of the dark continent," "the primitive peoples of savage Africa," and similar clichés and stereotypes which have been taken over by many Americans from the ethnocentric literature of the past which was produced with ulterior objectives in mind, will have to be replaced by terms and concepts which will characterize the Africans, their cultures, and their institutions as they really are. For as has been previously observed, and as Dr. Busia plainly indicates, the inhabitants of the continent—though ready enough to admit that their material cultures in recent times have been deficient in many respects—do not now consider and have never regarded themselves as being either primitive or uncivilized. Further, the findings of modern anthropologists, archaeologists and other students of the continent's present and past have revealed that the Africans' judgment of themselves in these respects is in accord with the actual facts. To persist, therefore, in thinking of the African as a primitive man and to attempt to treat and deal with him as if he were indeed such, not only is unrealistic but violates the human dignity which is now and always has been his.

As many colonial powers with holdings in Africa and elsewhere are now finding out to their great cost, no people will tolerate insults to their dignity as human beings longer than they must. The recent experiences of certain of America's European allies in this respect offer lessons which the Americans, in implementing their projected activities in Africa, will do well to bear in mind. *Africa Today* indicates that the Americans intend to do just this and profit by their allies' mistakes. For this volume makes it clear that America is resolved to learn and know the African as he really is.

To be sure, a few of the contributors would seem to have been either unfamiliar with, or unwilling to present, the real facts about the matters and situations which their topics involved; but it would appear that the authors of most of the papers made a serious and, on the whole, successful effort to present an impartial review of the objective facts relating to the topics they were asked to discuss. With two or three exceptions, as has been already indicated, the papers by authors from countries with colonies in Africa are gratifyingly objective in their basic points of view. Like the patriots they have the right to be, most of the contributors from the colonial powers endeavor to present their countries' achievements in Africa in a favorable light, but their governments' mistakes in procedures and objectives are usually readily acknowledged and there is, on the whole, little if any special pleading. In short, *Africa Today* is a most useful, revealing and, on the whole, reliable introduction to today's Africa.

There is however much, very much, which America needs to know about Africa, but this is a need which this volume does not, and does not endeavor to, meet. This is the need for much more information about Africa's past, for Africa today being, as it is, the offspring of Africa's yesterdays, can be neither correctly understood nor properly appraised without some knowledge of Africa's past. As modern archaeology and related disciplines have revealed, Africa—tropical Africa—has been the dwelling place of man ever since the most remote epochs of human time, and it is now known that autochthonous cultures and civilizations which were on a par *sensu lato* with those in other parts of the world during the same periods have, till recent times, flourished there ever since mankind was in its infancy and history was young. The superstructures of these old civilizations were tumbled into oblivion some hundreds and some thousands of years ago, but their foundations and much of their annals, in many instances, still exist. It is, in the main, upon these ancient foundations that tropical Africa's renascent civilizations are being rebuilt. This explains why modern Africa's cultural life is, as Dr. Carpenter states, "deep, rich, varied and complex"; and herein lies the explanation of Mr. Henry's remark that African civilizations have "strong roots." Unless America today learns more about Africa yesterday, it will be severely handicapped in its dealings with Africa tomorrow.

March 1, 1956

Harcourt, Brace & Co.
383 Madison avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly let me know if my indebtedness to you for purchase of copies of "Color and Democracy" has been met in full.

Also, I would like to inquire about the plates of my book "Black Reconstruction," which you published in 1935. On what terms may I secure them?

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du BOIS

27-17-20

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

March 6, 1956

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We have your March first letter. Our accounting department tells me that there is $1.88 still open on your account for the purchase of copies of COLOR AND DEMOCRACY.

27-17-19

The plates of BLACK RECONSTRUCTION were melted under government order in November of 1942. We wrote you in August of that year asking if you wished to purchase these plates but received no reply from you. For your information, I am enclosing a copy of that letter.

Sincerely,

JHMcCallum

J. H. McCallum

Enc.

1935
14
1949

1935
19
4

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

41-16-162

August 2, 1956

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We have your letters of July 26th and August 1st. As we have no plans for reprinting BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, which was published under an agreement between us dated October 29, 1931, you may consider this letter as a formal release to you of all publishing rights in that title.

Sincerely,

JHMcCallum

J. H. McCallum
Vice President

-4212A-26

February 17, 1956

Mrs. Lorenzo W. Harris
133 Sylvan Avenue
Asbury Park, N. J.

My dear Kate:

I have been very busy lecturing and writing since your kind letter of January 23. There were an unusual number of engagements for Negro History Week. Early in April, I am going on a short lecture tour in California, so that I'm afraid I won't get a chance to see you before summer.

I am so glad you are seeing the world. I am in good health, and Shirley and I send love.

Yours with love,

42/28/8

To the Members of the Harvard College Class of 1890

Dear Classmates:

I am moved to submit this final Report to the surviving members of our Class.

From the time of our graduation until the year 1955, we have held an annual Class dinner at Commencement time. When our 60th Reunion took place in 1950, the Class was entertained by Barnes at his home in Hingham and there followed the Class dinner at the Harvard Club at which thirty of us were present. For four more years these dinners were continued, the last one being held on June 16, 1954. Only five of us were there. The question of continuing the dinners was discussed and hope was expressed that we might have at least one more to celebrate the 65th anniversary of our graduation.

But the illness of Corning, who since the death of Joe Lund in 1922 had been our loyal and efficient secretary and had ably engineered all of our Reunions since then, prevented him from canvassing the Class and from making the necessary arrangements. His death on February 13 of this year has saddened all of us. Deprived of his leadership and our numbers being now so few (34 to be exact), it seems inadvisable to attempt further Class dinners.

During all of these years, Stoughton 19 has been reserved as a meeting place for members of our Class on Commencement Day. But not many of us can now plan to attend Commencement and this arrangement must also be discontinued. Hence, those of us who can come must see each other at the Spread of the Harvard Alumni Association in the Tree Quadrangle or in the College Yard.

Those of us who remain will think with pride of the roster of our Class which, we feel, has justified Lund's words in his Sixth Report at our 25th Anniversary: "the finest body of Harvard graduates which has ever assembled to date" in Cambridge on Commencement Day.

Raymond Calkins

Cambridge, June 5, 1956

[HARVARD]

June 8, 1956

Mr. Raymond Kalkins
19 Berkeley Street
Cambridge , Mass.

42-2B-1

My dear Kalkins:

Thank you for your class letter. I heard in it for the first time of the death of Barnes. I was very sorry to hear it and wish that we could have had at least one more reunion, but I suppose it is impossible.

My best regards. I am still in good health and at work.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

27-17-2

[Hastings]

IN NOVEMBER, 1954, I OUTLINED ON REQUEST, A BOOK ON "THE COTTON SLAVE". I HAVE HAD NO ACKNOWLEDGEMENT NOR DECISION ON THE MATTER SINCE. I AM STILL PREPARED TO WRITE THE BOOK INDICATED PROVIDED THE PUBLISHERS ARE READY TO MAKE UP THEIR MINDS IN THE NEAR FUTURE I HAVE NOT MUCH TIME LEFT FOR WRITING AND THAT IS BEING PROGRESSIVELY FILLED.

I THINK HOWEVER THE PUBLISHERS SHOULD BE WARNED OF ONE THING WHICH I SUSPECT THEY HAVE ALREADY BEEN CONSIDERING: I AM IN THE HABIT OF WRITING MY OWN BOOKS AND NOT OF SIGNING MANUSCRIPTS PREPARED BY OTHERS. I HEARKEN TO EDITORIAL ADVICE, BUT THE FINAL DECISION IS MINE. IF I WRITE "THE COTTON SLAVE" IT GOING TO EXPRESS WHAT I THINK. IF FOR ANY REASON THE PUBLISHERS ARE AFRAID OF THIS, THEN IT WILL SAVE THEIR TIME AND MINE TO LET THE MATTER REST WHERE IT HAS FOR THE LAST FIFTEEN MONTHS.

For Hastings House
Dictated to McIntosh + Otis, Mrs. Abbot, Jan. 25, 1956

THE HAYES MEMORIAL LIBRARY *
FREMONT, OHIO

March 8, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

42-2A-20

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In going through the correspondence of President Rutherford B. Hayes, I find a few of your letters addressed to him in 1891, a year or so before he died.

We have been attempting to locate copies of letters written by President Hayes to his many correspondents, wherever possible, since he did not retain copies in his files of his outgoing correspondence. Did you save any of the letters he may have written to you? If you did, would it be possible for us to obtain photostatic copies of them?

Should you still have on hand any of your original manuscripts of your many published books, which you might consider placing in this library, we would be very glad to have them here.

Thanking you, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Watt P. Marchman

Watt P. Marchman
Director

/m
encl.

* Now officially "The Rutherford B. Hayes Library."

letters: 1890-93 several letters

[Hayes Library]

42-2A-13

June 4, 1956

Mr. Watt P. Marchman,
Rutherford B. Hayes Library,
Fremont, Ohio

My dear Mr. Marchman:

Between 1891 and 1894, I had some correspondence with President Hayes. I wrote him first concerning a statement which he made at Johns Hopkins University with regard to scholarships for Negroes. Then later I repeated my requests and I think that possibly while I was in Germany I wrote him once or twice.

Of my own letters, I have no copies. I may have copies of letters from him in my files. I shall try to find them.

Meantime, I would be deeply obliged if you could give me photostat copies of any letters which I wrote him.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

THE HAYES MEMORIAL LIBRARY *
FREMONT, OHIO

June 6, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

42-2A-21

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am very grateful to you for your letter of June 4th, just received, and I sincerely hope that you will be able to find in your files the letters of President Rutherford B. Hayes which he wrote you. We would like to have photostatic copies made of them at our expense.

We will be pleased to have photostatic copies made of the letters you wrote to President Hayes, those which are still among his papers, which he preserved. I think that he kept them all, but may have referred one or two to members of the Slater Board, or Peabody Board.

You may be interested to learn that I am editing,for publication, a new edition of President Hayes's diaries.

Thanking you for your interest and cooperation, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Watt P. Marchman

Watt P. Marchman
Director

:m

* Now officially "The Rutherford B. Hayes Library."

[Hayes, R.B. - Library]

41-15E-9

THE HAYES MEMORIAL LIBRARY *
FREMONT, OHIO

June 18, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In further reference to your letter of June 4th, we have had photostatic copies made of your letters which are in the Rutherford B. Hayes Papers of this Library, and the copies are herewith enclosed.

I hope that you will be successful in locating copies of the Hayes letters for us from your own files. We would like so much to have photostatic copies of them to complete the correspondence.

Very sincerely yours,

Watt P. Marchman

Watt P. Marchman
Director

:m

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* Now officially "The Rutherford B. Hayes Librayy."

41-19C-15

[Homo]

HOMO

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE VERGLEICHENDE BIOLOGIE DER MENSCHEN

Internationales Organ für das Gesamtgebiet der Anthropologie. – Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie

„MUSTERSCHMIDT", WISSENSCHAFTLICHER VERLAG, GÖTTINGEN

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Universität

24.3.1956

Herrn
Prof. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court, Brocklyn 2
New York

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege !

Unkosten und Arbeiten haben mich veranlasst, die Herausgabe der Zeitschrift HOMO an die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie abzugeben. Diese hat meiner langjährigen und hochverdienten Mitarbeiterin in der Redaktion, Frau Professorin Dr. I. Schwidetzky, die Schriftleitung übertragen.

Damit entfällt der bisherige Stab von Mitherausgebern. So danke ich Ihnen für Ihre bisherige freundliche und wertvolle Mitwirkung herzlich und möchte Sie bitten, auch fernerhin der Zeitschrift Ihr besonders geschätztes Interesse zu bewahren.

In der Hoffnung, demnächst wieder von Ihnen zu hören, bin ich mit den besten Grüssen und Wünschen

immer Ihr ergebener

v. Eickstedt

July 12, 1956

Mary Louise Hooper

Hotel Shelburne

Lexington avenue and 37th Street

New York City

42-2A-12

My dear Mrs. Hooper:

Enclosed you will find two letters of introduction to George Padmore of England and to Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast. I hope they will be of some assistance. It was very nice to see you the other night.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

41-16-48

August 27, 1956
Lagos, Nigeria

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

At last I have a "breathing space" in my trip , to write you and Mrs. Du Bois a line! It has been wonderful, but exhausting, all along the line. With the "wonderful" part you have had so much to do, that I am exceedingly grateful, both for your advice, when I saw you, and for your very kind letters of introduction.

Let me tell you a bit about my meetings with the friends to whom you gave me letters.

In London George Padmore answered my note at once, and came over to my little hotel. (He still disdains to have a telephone!) We liked each other at once. I don't know what you wrote him about me, but he surely was lovely to me --- came over several times, took me walking in Hyde Park, brought me his new book, just out, and each time that he saw me, he told me a little more about the Gold Coast and its political background. The insights that he gave me, from his great knowledge of the subject, were invaluable to me, in my contacts with people there. I have not "specialized" in the Gold Coast, and so was woefully ignorant of many things, especially background material. (I had not even read his "Gold Coast Revolution", I was ashamed to confess!-- Most of my study has been on South Africa.) ---So you can appreciate that the hours with him were exceedingly valuable to me, in meeting people intelligently in the Gold Coast. I cannot thank you enough for the introduction. And, aside from that, it was a pleasure to meet him. He is a very nice guy! ---- He, also, without my asking, gave me a letter of introduction to the Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah.

It was in the Gold Coast, however, that your letter really worked magic! I had written Daniel Chapman from London that I ha a letter from you, and asked him to get me an appointment with the Prime Minister. When I arrived at my hotel I phoned to say that I was there-- and Dan said:"Come right over! " He is a friend of mine; I thought he meant to see him. But when I got there he took me right in to see the P.M.! He read your letter carefully, and asked me when I had seen you, how you look, how your health is -- if you still look so young! I told him about our dinner in the garden, and about the day in Calif. when you walked around the top of Mt. Tamalpais with Ethel and me. He was amazed. "What a wonderful man!" he said several times. On another occasion he told me "Dr. Du Bois is my father. " He has the greatest love and admiration for you. At one of our luncheons he asked for your address so he could write you, personally. -- So you see, a letter from you is the finest introduction that I could possibly have had!

I met Nkrumah in all five times, in his office or at small gatherings, all planned for me. I know that I was very fortunate, but I was glad, because it gave me the chance to really have some good chats about the things which matter to me. He has certainly not forgotten his "pan-African Dream!" We found that we had a great deal in common, and he promised to use his influence and position, once the Gold Coast becomes "Free Ghana", to help as much and in as many ways as possible, in the situation in South Africa. I am sure that our friendship, which he wants to continue by correspondence, will have definite and helpful results, in the long run. And all due to you!

Do you know that he has finished an Autobiography? He read me several chapter on the last evening we had together, the night before I left to come to Lagos. We had dinner alone at his house, upstairs in his small private apartments --- the large rooms downstairs are always full of people from the country, perfect strangers, who come in by the dozens to see him, cook in his courtyard and often sleep, a hundreds of them, on his living and dining-room floor! He lives very simply, even shabbily; if there is any "bribery and corruption", as the Opposition charge, it certainly does not find its way into his private purse!

He told me of the AllAfrican Conference he plans, after Independence (which seems now to be slated for March, '57) and to which delegates from all the independent African countries will be invited, plus observers from the "un-free" Nationalist Organizations. And about Radio Ghana, the Voice of Freedom, he called it--- he is having the Gold Coast Transmitter made very much stronger, so it can broadcast Freedom "propaganda" to all of Africa. He intends to make the new Ghana (not Egypt) the spearhead for freedom of Africa-- all of it! A large, really good newspaper is in the definite preparation stage. I talked to one of the men working on it, also one of the old revolutionaries who went to jail with him--- Markham. The paper should start about Xmas. I am to send them news from my "sphere of activity" for it; they will syndicate it to Nigeria and East Africa. I don't know how I will find time to do this, but I know it is important. The recent Commission of Inquiry (into corruption) will result in added power for the gov't to control operations, especially of Cocoa. Oh, I learned so many interesting things! But I have no more room to write, now. So again my heartfelt thanks for your letter, and my warm greetings to you and Mrs. DuBois/

Sincerely, Mary-Louise Hooper

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AEROGRAMME
AIR LETTER

6d
IFE BRONZE
NIGERIA

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn Heights
New York
N.Y.
U.S.A.

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address:

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE;
IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

It did not seal properly. So I will send it in another envelope.

To open cut here

February 27, 1956

Mrs. Louise Harding Horr
466 Mendocino Street
Brisbane, Calif.

42-2A-24

My dear Mrs. Horr:

Thank you for your letter of January 27. It is almost impossible to comment intelligently on news from Russia. It is usually so distorted by correspondents and newspapers, that one can never be sure as to the facts. Then, too, Negroes traveling abroad are under special watch of the State Department and would be liable to persecution and loss of jobs when they return, if they made any criticism on race relations in the United States.

Usually, the only colored people who can get passports are those who promise to say the right things. Lyons' dispatch is in my opinion evidently distorted. Thank you for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

December 4, 1956

Miss Louise Harding Horr
466 Mendocino Street
Brisbane, Calif.

My dear Miss Horr:

Thank you for your contribution to the Smith Act victims. I am turning it over to the present organization.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

42/2A/4

REV. CLARENCE V. HOWELL
552 Riverside Drive-New York 27, N. Y.

42/2A/5

February 15, 1956

Dear Congressman:

It is our hope that the enclosed letter, which we respectfully submit to you as a group of about 100 individuals, will help to create a constructive atmosphere and support for your deliberations in developing legislation for a BOLD NEW INITIATIVE in our country's Foreign Policy.

We fully appreciate the difficulties of your position and sincerely offer any assistance which you may consider necessary to achieve the continued reduction of the tensions that have dominated the foreign scene for so many years.

Respectfully yours,

Emily G. Balch
Miss Emily Greene Balch

Henry F. Grady
Dr. Henry F. Grady

Mordecai Johnson
Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson

E. Raymond Wilson
Mr. E. Raymond Wilson

Copy to:
Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
New York, N.Y.

[ENC]

42/2A/6

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE 84th CONGRESS:

The half year between adjournment and reconvening of the 84th Congress has witnessed such momentous changes in foreign relations that a fundamental review of our policies on a legislative as well as administrative level has become imperative. The new spirit of negotiation has sufficiently relaxed international tensions to afford a certain mobility toward peace.

Now that time has allowed for sober reflection following the failure of the Big Four Foreign Ministers to achieve specific solutions last October, it has become abundantly clear that the essential truth recognized at the Summit Conference earlier in July has not been altered, that no nation can achieve victory in thermo-nuclear war. Therefore, the will to negotiate must be emphasized so that the Spirit of Geneva will not die.

Every day brings another challenge and another opportunity to prove with the ploughshares of peace which economic system can bring greater benefits to the peoples who now look to the industrial giants, whether capitalistic or communistic, for aid in promoting their welfare. Is it not time that we accept the challenge of peaceful competition or be faced again with having been too late with too little no matter how high the ultimate expenditure?

Our allies have been critical of our reliance mainly upon a system of military aid and global military alliances which raise doubts and suspicions among the uncommitted nations of the world and hamper the development of friendly and fruitful economic relationships. We are compelled to recognize and participate in the constructive and peaceful "challenge of the systems".

The alternative to peaceful competition is too horrible to contemplate. It is with a sense of disappointment that we note the failure of the big powers to respond positively and with alacrity to the Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII in which he decried the immorality and inhumanity of nuclear warfare and suggested a negotiated ban on the use of such weapons. We also regret recent unfortunate references by our own Secretary of State to "brink of war" diplomacy. The spirit of give and take in the affairs of state is the only assurance that we may all LIVE AND LET LIVE.

Our President "was profoundly impressed with the need for all of us to avoid discouragement merely because our own proposals, our own approaches, and our own beliefs are not always immediately accepted by the other side." Whatever criticism one may have of the Soviet position at the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference, according to Walter Lippman, "Western terms at Geneva had in them no room for maneuver, no material for bargaining, no chance for trading." Our own policies must be infused with imagination and a creative new approach.

It is with deep respect for your responsibilities that we look to you, the members of Congress, to lay the basis through debate and legislation for a bold initiative in our foreign affairs. We welcome the announcement of the opening of hearings by the Senate Special Sub-committee on Disarmament and of the Sub-committee on Foreign Economic Policy of the House.

We respectfully urge upon you, our Congressmen:

(1) That you support the patient search for specific solutions to international differences in the give and take SPIRIT OF GENEVA, and dedicate yourselves to a reexamination of the laws of our land, making the necessary changes to facilitate the further reduction of tensions built up during the cold war period.

(2) That, in the name of enlightened self-interest, you review and revise the immigration and restrictive trade acts that stand as barriers to the free exchange of non-military goods, services, and delegations of all kinds between the East and West.

(3) That you legislate a generous program for bilateral assistance to the underdeveloped nations without inflexible limitations and increase our support of multilateral efforts such as the specialized agencies of the United Nations; and, that the hearings of the House Sub-Committee on Foreign Economic Policy encourage the expression of all opinions and recommend greatly increased appropriations emphasizing non-military aid with the fullest generosity of which we are capable.

(4) That the hearings of the Special Senate Committee afford an opportunity for the fullest free expression of public opinion in our quest for constructive and workable new disarmament proposals which take into account the legitimate interests of all nations.

President Eisenhower has told us, "We have the most shining opportunity ever possessed by Americans. May these truths inspire, never dismay us. I believe that only with prayerful patience, intelligence, courage, and tolerance, never forgetting vigilance and prudence, can we keep alive the spark ignited at Geneva." May the fruits of your endeavors meet the measure of your responsibility so that, in the end, we may all LIVE AND LET LIVE.

January 20, 1956.

[ENC]

42/2A/7

Rev. Gross W. Alexander
Lucerne Valley, California

William T. Baird
Chicago, Illinois

Miss Emily Green Balch
Wellesley, Massachusetts

Professor Stringfellow Barr
Newark, New Jersey

Dr. Harold J. Bass
Tacoma, Washington

Harvey F. Baty
Montana

Mrs. Helen M. Beardsley
Los Angeles, California

Professor Brand Blanshard
New Haven, Connecticut

Professor Derk Bodde
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dr. Ernest L. Bogart
New York, N. Y.

Dr. Gladys Boone
Sweet Briar, Virginia

Professor G. Murray Branch
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. George Bray
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Professor Allan M. Butler
Boston, Massachusetts

Professor Rudolph Carnap
Santa Monica, California

Professor Robert W. Clack
Alma, Michigan

Mr. & Mrs. George C. Cleary
Highland Park, Michigan

Mrs. Ruth Gage Colby
New York, N. Y.

Dr. Henry H. Crane
Detroit, Michigan

Rabbi Abraham Cronbach
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dr. Percy M. Dawson
Los Altos, California

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
New York, N. Y.

Tilford E. Dudley
Washington, D. C.

Professor Kermit Eby
Chicago, Illinois

Rev. Phillips P. Elliott
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Professor Thomas I. Emerson
New Haven, Connecticut

Rev. Hazel E. Foster
Cleveland, Ohio

Dr. John Paul Jones
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hon. Clemens I. France
New York, N. Y.

Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Los Anglees, California

Mr. Sidney J. Gluck
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Max Goberman
Glen Gardner, New Jersey

Professor L. Carrington Goodrich
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Henry F. Grady
San Francisco, California

Dr. Alice Hamilton
Hadlyme, Connecticut

Mr. Bryan Hamlin
Bridgehampton, N. Y.

Mrs. Anna B. Hartman
Columbus, Ohio

Professor Robert J. Havighurst
Chicago, Illinois

Rev. Charles A. Hill
Detroit, Michigan

Dr. Charles L. Hill
Wilberforce, Ohio

Rev. Clarence V. Howell
New York, N. Y.

Professor Elizabeth E. Hoyt
Ames, Iowa

Mrs. William I. Hull
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dr. Mordecai A. Johnson
Washington, D. C.

Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
New York, N. Y.

Dr. Herbert King
New York, N. Y.

Rev. Dana E. Klotzle
Boston, Massachusetts

Dr. Paul H. Lavietes
New Haven, Connecticut

Rev. C. F. Littell
Lisbon, Iowa

Professor Robert Morss Lovett
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Margery H. Matson
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Mrs. Joseph Moos
Jenkintown, Pennsylvania

Mrs S. Morgulis
Omaha, Nebraska

Professor Philip Morrison
Ithaca, N. Y.

Rev. J. Pierce Newell
Rochester, N. Y.

Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmsted
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Miss Phylis R. Osborn
Chicago, Illinois

Rev. Edward L. Peet
Sacramento, California

Dr. Dryden L. Phelps
Berkeley, California

Mr. Arthur D. Pratt, Jr.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Mrs. Allan J. Roberts
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Mr. Ray C. Roberts
Seattle, Washington

Rev. Meryl Ruoss
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Laurence Sears
Berkeley, California

Mrs. George A. Selleck
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Rev. Guy Emery Shipler
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Alfred E. Sidwell
Allendale, New Jersey

Mrs. Emily Parker Simon
Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. Thomas L. Slater
Chicago, Illinois

Professor Louise Pettibone Smith
Hartford, Connecticut

Rev. F. Hastings Smyth
Gloucester, Massachusetts

Mrs. Annalee Stewart
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Trevor Teele
Ithaca, N. Y.

Miss Marjorie L. Thompson
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Mrs. H. A. Vanderbeek
North Plainfield, New Jersey

Miss Olive O. Van Horn
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Gladys D. Walser
New York, N. Y

Mrs. Elizabeth Weideman
Dearborn, Michigan

Mr. Monus Weinstein
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. Charles F. Weller
St. Petersburg, Florida

Professor Frank W. Weymouth
Los Angeles, California

Rev. Wayne White
New York, N. Y.

Mr. E. Raymond Wilson
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. C. Eugene Woodruff
Northville, Michigan

....AND OTHERS....

From:

Rev. Clarence V. Howell
552 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.
Telephone Murrayhill 3-4988
Monument 2-6350

For:

Immediate release Sunday
February 26, 1956

For:

Miss Emily Greene Balch, Wellesley, Mass.
Dr. Henry F. Grady, San Francisco, Calif.
Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, Washington, D. C.
Mr. E. Raymond Wilson, Washington, D. C.

A2/2A/8

EDUCATORS AND CLERGYMEN URGE BOLD INITIATIVE IN FOREIGN POLICY

- - - -

CONGRESS ASKED TO SUPPORT FOUR POINT PROGRAM

- - - -

Nearly 100 prominent Americans, in an open letter to every member of Congress issued yesterday (Saturday), urged Congress to lay the basis "for a bold initiative in our foreign affairs" and presented a four-point program" to facilitate the further reduction of tensions built up in the cold war period."

Initiators of the open letter were Dr. Henry F. Grady, Former Assistant Secretary of State and Former Ambassador to India; Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, President of Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Miss Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Peace Prize Winner; and Mr. E. Raymond Wilson, Executive Director, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

The letter was also sent to the President, to Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, to Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, and to Mr. Harold Stassen, Special Assistant to the President on Disarmament.

"The half year between adjournment and reconvening of the 84th Congress", the letter said, "has witnessed such momentous changes in foreign relations that a fundamental review of our policies on a legislative as well as administrative level has become imperative."

The signatories include 23 educators of whom two are Presidents of universities and 23 are clergymen. Prominent among them are: Professor Brand Blanshard, Department of Philosophy, Yale University; Dr. Gladys Boone, Professor, Sweet Briar, Virginia; Professor Rudolf Carnap, Department of Philosophy, University of California; Dr. Henry

Hitt Crane, Minister Central Methodist Church, Detroit; Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Professor Hebrew Union University, Cincinnati; Professor Kermit Eby, School of Social Services, University of Chicago; Professor L. Carrington Goodrich, Professor of Chinese History, Columbia University; Dr. Charles Leander Hill, President of Wilberforce University, Ohio; Rev. John Paul Jones, Minister Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn; Dr. Herbert King, Minister Grace Congregational Church, New York; Mr. Arthur D. Pratt, Jr., Executive Director, Foundation for International Economic Development, Indianapolis; Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, Editor, The Churchman, New York; Mr. Thomas L. Slater, Secretary-Treasurer, Carpenters Union, Chicago; The Rev. Father F. Hastings Smyth, Society of the Catholic Commonwealth, Gloucester, Mass.; Mrs. Annalee Stewart, Legislative Director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington; and Miss Olive O. Van Horn, Former Secretary of the National Board, YWCA, New York.

42/24/9

The Four Point Program asks members of Congress to:

1. "...support the patient search for specific solutions to international differences ...and...reexamine the laws of our land to make the necessary changes..."
2. "...review and revise the immigration and restrictive trade acts that stand as barriers to the free exchange of non-military goods, services, and delegations..."
3. "...legislate a generous program for bilateral assistance to the under-developed nations without inflexible limitations and increase our support of multilateral efforts such as the specialized agencies of the United Nations..."
4. "...afford an opportunity through the Special Senate Sub-Committee on Disarmament for the fullest free expression of public opinion in our quest for constructive and workable new disarmament proposals which take into account the legitimate interests of all nations..."

##

Full Text and complete list of signatories attached.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1956.

100 URGE REVIEW OF FOREIGN POLICY

Citizens' Open Letter Asks Congress and Leaders to Ease Cold War Tension

An open letter yesterday from 100 Americans including forty-six educators and clergymen urged Congress to review our policies toward reducing cold war tensions. The letter also suggested gaining "a bold initiative" in foreign affairs.

The letter, addressed to members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, was also sent to President Eisenhower, to Vice President Richard M. Nixon, to John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, and to Harold E. Stassen, Special Assistant to the President on Disarmament.

"The half-year between adjournment adn reconvening of the Eighty-fourth Congress," the letter said, "has witnessed such momentous changes in foreign relations that a fundamental review of our policies on a legislative as well as administrative level has become imperative."

Terming the alternative to peaceful competition "too horrible to contemplate," the letter notes with disappointment the failure of the major powers to respond to the Christmas message of Pope Pius XII. The message decried the "immorality and inhumanity" of nuclear warfare and suggested a ban on the use of such weapons.

"We also regret recent unfortunate references by our own Secretary of State to 'brink of war' diplomacy," the letter adds. "The spirit of give and take in the affairs of state is the only assurance that we may all live and let live."

The signatories asked that Congress support this four-point program:

1. A patient search for specific solutions to international differences and the re-examination of the laws of our land to make the necessary changes.
2. Revision of immigration and restrictive trade acts that stand as "barriers" to the free exchange of nonmilitary goods, services and delegations.
3. Enactment of a generous program for bilateral assistance to underdeveloped nations without inflexible limitations and enlarged support of specialized agencies of the United Nations.
4. An opportunity for the "fullest free expression" of public opinion through the Special Senate subcommittee on disarmament in the quest for "constructive and workable" new disarmament proposals.

Initiators of the letter were Dr. Henry F. Grady, former Assistant Secretary of State and former Ambassador to India; Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University; Miss Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Prize winner, and E. Raymond Wilson, executive director, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

42/2A/11

MONTHLY REVIEW

66 BARROW STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

Feb 16, 1956

Dear Dr Du Bois,

Paul Sweezy and I were very much impressed with your interesting and revealing article "How United Are Negroes?" in the January 23 issue of the Nat'l Guardian. A first-rate piece –

Cordially,
Leo Huberman

42-2A-18

264 EDITORS • • LEO HUBERMAN • • PAUL M. SWEEZY

LANGSTON HUGHES
20 EAST 127TH STREET
NEW YORK 35, N. Y.

May 22, 1956

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, New York.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have just read again your The Souls of Black Folk---for perhaps the tenth time---the first time having been some forty years ago when I was a child in Kansas. Its beauty and passion and power are as moving and as meaningful as ever.

My very best regards to Shirley and continued good wishes to you both,

Sincerely,

Langston Hughes
Langston Hughes

1/29/113

August 9, 1956

Mr. Alphaeus Hunton

My dear Alphaeus:

A National Paul Robeson Committee in England is planning to republish Shirley Graham's biography. They need, however, a final chapter covering Paul's career since 1944. Shirley cannot furnish this. She is in the hospital on account of a badly injured leg, and will probably be incapacitated until September.

What I have in mind is to consult with you and Hunton and to write a few pages myself, not so much as a part of the book but as a sort of postscript. For that purpose I would like to have a conference here at my office at 4 p. m. Friday, August 17, or this might be arranged at my house the same evening. I hope very much that you can come. Kindly let me hear from you, at your convenience. I shall be out of town at Bay Shore where Shirley is hospitalized between now and that date, but I can be reached in care of Abbott Simon, Fire Island 4-5978-M.

Very sincerely yours,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

Robson

[Hunton]

41-16-2

August 20, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

When I looked for my Robeson files I found that they had become (as a result of transfers to others when we closed the office) much more reduced in bulk and value than I had thought.

There are some important gaps in my memo which I just can't find material on: the trip to Panama (1947 or 1948) on behalf of the United Public Workers Union then organizing there; support of the same Union's fight against discrimination in the Bureau of Engraving, D.C.; help given West Coast longshoremen's union. A person who might be helpful on these and other labor angles is Mrs. Victoria Garvin, if they don't turn up otherwise.

Other gaps have to do with Paul's relations with Church and Elk conventions (Murphy should supply this), and the Canadian border episodes and concerts (probably in Guardian files; details on his 1948 and 1952 election activities would also be there).

A part of the story which it seems to me should be included is his way with children; there have been his visits to children's camps and his annual concerts for Harlem children, etc. George or Burnham can help on this.

If I have forgotten something in the sphere of the Council's work, I'll be glad to look it up. I deliberately omitted mention of the internal struggle against Yergan, although it does of course have significance in relation to foreign policy and was another reason for the restrictions on Paul. The citation of the Council on the Attorney General's list, however, came before the break with Yergan and was the reason for the split on policy.

Please feel free to call on me for anything further I can do. My phone is Vi 9-0706.

I hope Shirley is still mending all right. Please give her my love, and Dorothy's.

Sincerely,

Alphaeus

It occurs to me that another source for details on Paul's activities such as the trips to Jamaica and Panama would be the People's Voice – if Doxey or someone has a complete file.

[ENC]

41-16-7

PAUL ROBESON --chronicle of events-- 1945-1956

1945

As Chairman of Coimcil on African Affairs (CAA) urged United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco to adopt positive program for colonial liberation, and asked U.S. representatives to support principle of "full freedom within specified time limit for all colonial peoples."

Following completion of "Othello" engagement, accompanied by Lawrence Brown, he made a USO. tour of Germany, Czechoslovalia and France, making 32 concert appearances before some of the largest audiences of U.S. military personnel.

Received following awards: Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement from the N.A.A.C.P., honorary degree from Howard Universuty, citation from the National Negro Museum and Historical Foundation "for courage and devotion to the ideals for which American democracy was founded."

1946

Appeared with Marian Anderson and other artists and civic leaders at a benefit for South African famine relief, Abyssinia Baptist Church, New York, Jan., sponsored by CAA.

Was featured speaker at Madison Square Garden Rally for African and Colonial Freedom, June 6, held by CAA. Among those who sent messages of support were the late Senator Harley M. Kilgore and Jawarharlal Nehru.

Led delegation which had interview with President Truman, Sept. 23, to demand federal action to end lynching. When Truman asserted that Britain and America were the last refuge of freedom in the world, Robeson replied that "the British empire is one of the greatest enslavers of human beings," a statement which made headlines in the British press and brought a rejoinder from Arthur Creech-Jones, then Colonial Secretary.

Was featured speaker at convention of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, of which he is a member, and also addressed Southern Negro Youth Conference in Columbia, S. Carolina.

Robeson was at this time (I'm not able to indicate duration) on the board of trustees of Phi Beta Kappa, on the editorial board of The American Scholar , and he held honorary membersipin several national labor organizations including Mine, Mill ans Smelter Workers, United Public Workers of America, National Maritime Union, International Longshormen and Warehousemen's Union, and United Automobile Workers of America.

1947

Announced Jan. 26 in St. Louis his decision to give up concerts and the stage for two years to "talk up and down the nation against race hatred and prejudice."

Was barred from giving concerts in Peoria, Ill,(where he literally had to flee the city), Albany, N.Y., and other cities. Asst. Sec'y Roy Wilkins of the NAACP protested to the Mayor of Peoria "against the Barring of Paul Robeson from the Peoria City Hall assembly room and the ordering out of extra police to attempt to

[ENC]

41-16-8

prevent Mr, Robeson from even entering the city. These actions abrogated the cherished American right of freedom of speech and they aroused apprehension among thoughtful Americans of all shades of opinion."

Led delegation of CAA leaders to interview Mr. Francis B. Sayre, U.S. representative on U.N. Trusteeship Council, on Oct. 28, regarding U. S. failure to take clear-cut stand on issues of South African racial oppression and status of South West Africa.

1948

Participated in mass crusade to Washington by several hubdred Americans, June 2, to demand Congressional defeat of Mundt-Nixon legislation infringing constitutional rights.

Visited Jamaica, West Indies, and gave free open-air concerts before audiences numbering several thousands.

Played major role in Progressive Party election campaign.

Presented program before A.M.E. Chuch Conference in Louisville, Ky.

1949

Made his last trip abroad, a four-month tour in first half of year which took him to many countries in Western and Eastern Europe where he appeared before scores of record-breaking audiences.

He addressed the Paris Peace Conference on April 20, making the statement that dozens of his fellow colored Americans were called upon to refute.

Was one of a number of distinguished cultural figures to be invited to attend the 150th anniversary celebration of Alexander Pushkin's birth. In Moscow he presented a concert in Tchaikovsky Hall (early June).

He returned to the United States in the same month and was greeted with plaudits from the masses, brickbats from some of their "spokesmen". A Welcome Home Rally in Harlem on his arrival was one of the greatest gatherings in numbers and s spirit that the community has witnessed.

August 27 and September 4 were the dates of Peekskill infamy.

In ~~October~~/late September he set out on a rapid cross-country tour, speaking and singing to audiences without incident in Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles. But he was barred from halls in Cincinnati and Akron.

1950

On August 4 the State Department announced the revocation of Paul's passport/ On August 23 , accompanied by legal counsel, he went to Washington and asked representatives of the Passport Division why it was regarded as "detrimental to the interests of the United States Government" for him to travel abroad. The answer given was that his criticism of the treatment of the American Negro should not be aired abroad; it was a "family affair". Unless he would give a signed statememnt guaranteeing to make ~~mak~~ no speeches if he went abroad, there would be no ~~passport~~. reconsideration of the matter. Protests by Robeson and his legal advisers that this was a violation of constitutional rights were ignored. (release enclosed for details)

ALPHAEUS HUNTON

Vi 9-0706
100-23 93RD AVENUE
RICHMOND HILL 18, N. Y.

December 12, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I thought you would be interested in seeing how some on the other side interpret and use Padmore's book (which I hope to get to read).

If, when you finish reading the manuscript, you feel disposed to write a brief foreword, I would be most honored and appreciative. I shall telephone Monday to arrange to pick up the manuscript. Your opinion of specific passages that need revision, deletion, etc. would be most welcome and helpful. The publisher is asking me to cut 32 pages — some of the unnecessary reference notes and statistical tables will take care of part of that.

Does

27-20-25

Sorry I could not be of more help with the moving, but I trust it goes smoothly.

Sincerely,
Alphaeus

December 14, 1956

Mr. Alphaeus Hunton
100-25 93 avenue
Richmond Hill 18, N. Y.

Dear Alphaeus:

I have finished your manuscript. It is a most valuable piece of work and can only be critisised in general for the way in which it is overloaded with facts. But that is a fault which I can forgive.

There could be perhaps a more careful division of subject matter but I am not sure of that. There are a very few small matters which I will bring to your attention.

All of next week after Monday I shall be at home trying to get my books on the shelves. You can call at any time, and I can devote an hour or so to the manuscript. Also you can devote as much time as you have to helping me with the books.

Please give my best regards to your wife.

I will loan you Padmore's book to read if and when I can find it.

Very sincerely,

WEBD/el

W. E. B. Du BOIS

27-20-26

42-2A-10

[Hutchins]

Room 634
80 E. 11th St.
New York 3
Sept. 17th 1956

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The enclosed letter speaks for itself and I earnestly hope that you, Paul Robeson and Howard Fast will be willing to sign it in order to aid a fine and loyal Russian woman to return to her own country.

You three are the Americans best known in the Soviet Union and your word will carry weight on her behalf.

I have known Eugenie

Okhina for more than five years and can vouch for her integrity and loyalty to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Grace Hutchins

Please make any changes you suggest in the letter which can then be typed and signed.

G. H.

42-2A-9

Lillian Hyman
227 Riverside Drive
New York 25, N. Y.

Oct. 12, 1956

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I just had to take some time and write you on this one day off from work. It's been so long since I saw or heard or wrote. So I'll summarize.

Nothing exciting in my life -- just work, housework and study. Last year I finished teaching 1st grade in a private school. It was fun. Teaching reading is quite satisfying -- they start the year knowing nothing and go out reading! Of course the children were all above 100I.Q. which made it easier. However, it was a lot of outside work, too. I had to plan lessons, make up "busy work" etc. I figured the total time I spent was ~~to~~ equal the time I would put in a full-time job (which that one wasn't), and I would get full-time pay. So I left that job ($2000 a year for 4 hours (?) work).

Meanwhile by the end of the summer I had completed my M.A. in Special Education - teaching of mentally retarded. So I looked for something full time in that field. Of course public schools are out. They pay well but the pressures and work and heartaches are not worth it to many people.

I found a job in the Bronx, at a private institution for mentally retarded. It pays $4000. I have one group of 7 children for two hours in the morning and another group of 7 children for two hours in the afternoon. 1½ hours in between are for lunch, records, meeting parents, and a lecture by the psychiatrist once a week. However, we get two days off every three months for records, etc.

But these children are the children who are not acceptable anywhere else. They are not only mentally retarded (which is acceptable in public schools) and they are not only mentally deficient (which is acceptable in 5 private schools in n.y.) They are a combination of everything - multiple handicaps. They are emotionally disturbed too, and some have severe physical handicaps (cerebral palsy etc.). They are the lost souls - the flotsam and jetsam of the human race who have no place to go unless they are sent to a non-educational type of institution where they vegetate. Some of them are helped quite a bit here, but of course some are too low, or retrogress in their illness (epilepsy, brain injury, schizophrenia). But every human being is worth something to try to help.

It is difficult work, drains one every minute while there, and often - most often discouraging. But they have such great needs!

As far as I'm concerned, I work hard while there, but it doesn't take outside planning and work - at least not much. And it's a decent salary for outside public schools. And I'm out at 3 pm or so, get home at 4.

Meanwhile I was accepted (surprise), at CCNY for a free-tuition program in Remedial Reading. I'm going there now, and will get another master's degree inthat field- - just to have plenty of equipment

---

42-48-17

Lillian Hyman
227 Riverside Drive
New York 25, N. Y.

for any jobs offered me! Also, it might lead to the individual teaching at home in my older years!

So much for that. Carol is a big, big girl of almost 14. Of course, in physique she is tiny. She auditioned and was accepted at the public high school "School of Performing Arts" at 46 St. and Broadway, in the dance department (modern dance.) J. Jackson's girl goes there too. She loves school, but still is poor at algebra. I have to help her a great deal and I'm very rusty on the x^2 plus y^3 stuff. I sure am getting re-educated through her!

The school is similar to Music and Arts High School but is supposed to actually train them for "performing". I think it trains them like monkeys just in technique and kicking high. It doesn't have courses in improvisation, creative dancing, choreography, or in the various other forms of dance besides Martha Graham modern style or ballet. It excludes ethnic dancing completely. However, as long as she does some dancing she's happy, and that's the main thing. The school's total philosophy of education is superior to the other public schools, and they came out second in the whole city on the Regents. It prepares them for college, too.

My mother sold her 85th street house and is living with me, but we both have bought cooperatives in the Morningside Gardens Apartments going up behind Columbia Univ. (near the low-cost General Grant Housing). So next year we'll have 2 separate apartments there at "middle-income" rents ($21 a room). They cost $600 a room and we sell them right back to the Coop with a $50 loss if we don't want them anymore. They are sponsored by the institutions in the neighborhood (Columbia, Juillard, Riverside Church, etc).

My love life is nil except for Sam who I've known a year but he is still immature in a way and dependent on the sister he lives with so never has and never will marry. I haven't met anyone else that suits me,--yet!

Please write me and tell me all the news of the past year. WHAT HAPPENED TO MANSART? What are [illegible] have you written since? (beside National Guardian which I get).

I just don't know how to vote. I know I'm voting for Javits but I'm tempted to waste a vote on the Socialist party as protest. Please advise.

Give Shirley my love. WHAT HAPPEND TO AARON BURR?

Love,

Lillian

42-2A-205

December 21, 1956

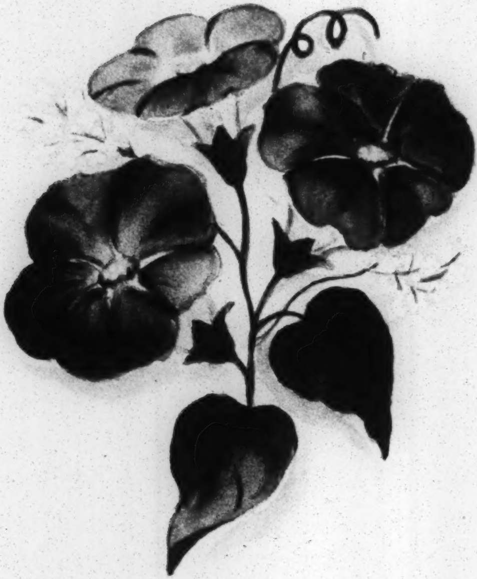
Miss Lillian Hyman
227 Riverside Drive
New York 25, N. Y. Apt. 15

My dear Lillian:

The office at 23 West 26 Street is no more. Last Monday the Santini Brothers moved all my books and papers to my home at 31 Grace Court, where we have transformed the dining room into a library. I had shelves installed and the books are all in place. The building at 26th Street is going to be sold and all the tenants must eventually move. This I did not know until after I had planned to move. Most of the furniture except the desks I left. Eventually I shall have a nice office here but now, naturally, it is considerable of a mess. You and Carol must come and look it over some time after the holidays.

Yours with love,

WEBD/el W. E. B. Du BOIS



To Dr. Du Bois, [1956]

Your birthdays do not make you old,
Instead, they just impart
More charm, more graciousness to you,
For you're so young in heart;
So may this day become you
Like the ones you've had before--
And may the year to follow it
Hold many joys in store.

Love,
Lillian
(Hyman)

41|19A-C|13

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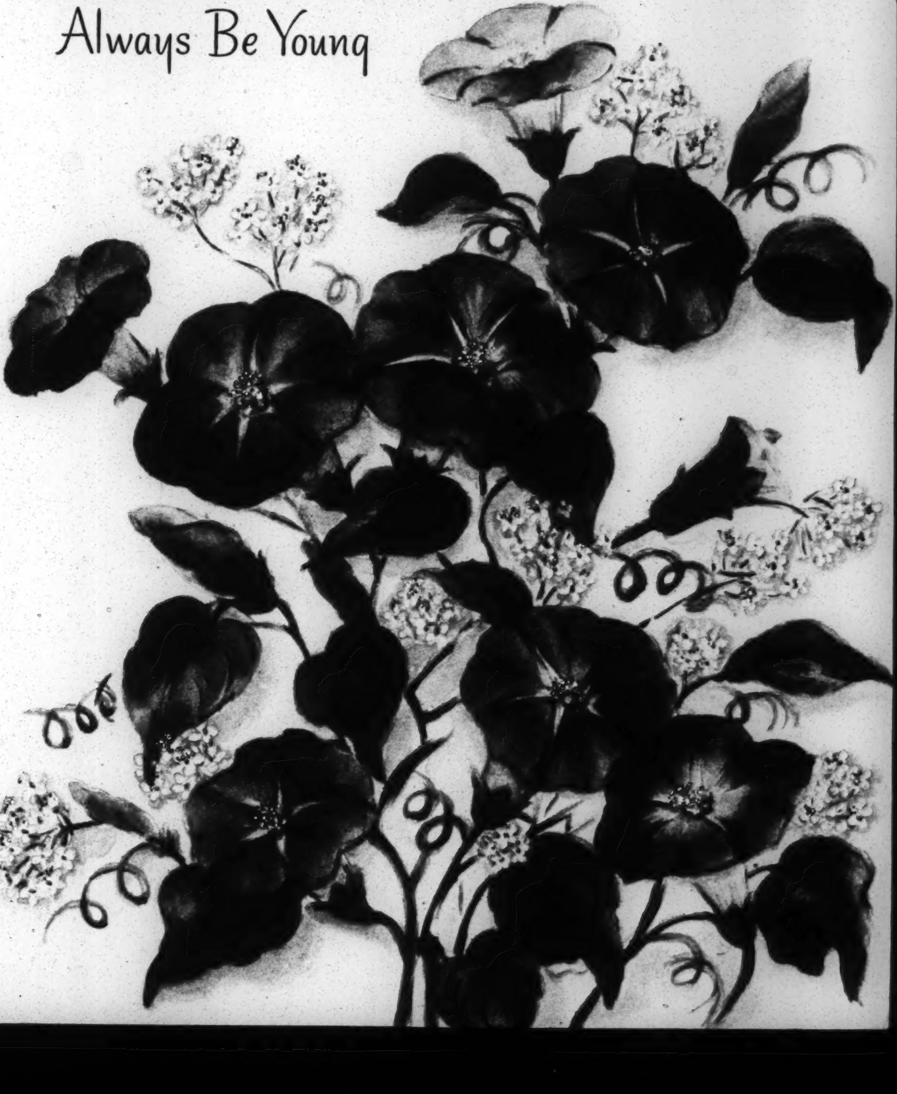
A BIRTHDAY MESSAGE

For Someone Who Will Always Be Young